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# TRYAMBAKAYAJVAN THE PERFECT WIFE

(Stridharmapaddhati)





PENGUIN BOOKS

THE PERFECT WIFE

Tryambakayajvan is almost certainly the famous Tryambakarāyamakhin (1665 – 1750), minister to two of the Maratha kings of Thanjavur (Śāhaji and Serfoji). Famous in his own right as a scholar of religious law (*dharmaśāstra*), he is described in a contemporary text as a learned minister, the performer of Vedic sacrifices, and a patron of scholars. In the *Stridharmapaddhati*, Tryambaka is interested in women not as individuals but as parts that fit into and strengthen the whole. That whole is dharma. He has therefore combed the scriptures for rulings related to women and rearranged them in such a way that all who read or hear them will be encouraged to conform.



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*adharmābhībhavāt kṛṣṇa praduṣyanti kulastriyah/  
striṣu duṣṭāsu vāṛṣṇeya jāyate varṇasamkaraḥ/ /  
saṃkaro narakāyaiva kulaghnānām kulasya ca/ /*  
Bhagavadgītā I.41–2a

# The Perfect Wife

## (Stridharmapaddhati)

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Tryambakayajvan

Translated from the Sanskrit  
with an Introduction by I. Julia Leslie



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To my parents  
JOHN and ELIZABETH LESLIE  
for their love and patience  
over the years  
and for their acceptance of my  
prolonged infatuation with India



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British Library: OR.11689, fol. 2r.
- b As above.  
British Library: OR.11689, fol. 3v.
- c As above.  
British Library: OR.11689, fol. 2v.
- d *Rūdhākṛṣṇakeli*: palm-leaf manuscript; Oriya poem of Kṛṣṇa's life in Brindaban, possibly by Balaji Pattanayak (Losty 1980: 14). Orissa, early seventeenth century.  
British Library: OR.11612, fol. 19r.

## *Between pages 48 and 49*

- 1 Woman milking white cow with calf watching  
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- 2 Woman anointing herself with sandalwood paste or perfume from a pot  
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- 3 Woman holding mirror and applying collyrium to her eyes  
OR.11689, fol. 3r (detail)
- 4 Woman arranging ornaments in another's hair  
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- 10 Woman sitting on the ground, playing with male child  
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- 12 Couple making love on a low bed, naked except for their ornaments, the woman on top  
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# Introduction

In Madhya Pradesh, a high-caste brahmin woman named Bhuribai prostrates herself before a new *sati* shrine. It is 1974. For her, and for countless other traditional Hindu women in India today, the perfect woman is the *pativrata*, the devoted wife whose entire existence is dedicated to her husband. Ideally, such a woman dies before her husband; if by some mischance she does not, the wrong may be put right by taking her own life on her husband's pyre. She is then worshipped as a goddess, the perfect example of the self-sacrificing wife. Bhuribai's fervent prayer before that shrine is that she may never suffer the misfortune and disgrace of becoming a widow.

In her home, Bhuribai was fortunate. She suffered few hardships, was not ill-treated, and generally did as she pleased. Aware that she was in fact more intelligent than her husband, she took pleasure in her evident and efficient control of his household. But she remained quite ready to regard him as essentially 'higher', and herself as 'the shoes of his feet . . . his property'. Indeed, although she never actually worshipped him, Bhuribai conformed to the view widely held by both men and women throughout India that the perfect wife should regard her husband as her personal God. For, as both religious texts and traditional stories make clear, the man ordained to be a woman's husband is far more than a man: he is the incarnation of the supreme law in her life; the definition and summation of her religious duty; a god to be appeased.

In 1977, however, Bhuribai's husband died. Deprived of her one remaining desire — to die before her 'lord', and in his house where her wedding vows were taken — she announced her intention to become a *sati* or truly 'virtuous' wife herself. But, recent shrines notwithstanding, the immolation of widows has been illegal in India since the British Government abolished the practice with the Suttee Regulation of 1829. The village elders made her take the required 'test' of the true *sati*: she had to perform the miracle of changing a ball of cow-dung into a coconut. Bhuribai failed. She was denied the supreme sacrifice of the ideal wife.<sup>1</sup>

1. For a more detailed account of Bhuribai's life-history, see Jacobson 1978:95–138.

But not all Hindu women share Bhuribai's views concerning the proper role of women. *In Search of Answers* (Kishwar and Vanita 1984) is a collection of articles and letters published in *Manushi*, an outspoken magazine concerned with issues relating to Indian women today, during the first five years of its publication (1979-83). In her introduction to this disturbing document, Madhu Kishwar writes:

The pervasive popular cultural ideal of womanhood has become a death trap for too many of us. It is woman as a selfless giver, someone who gives and gives endlessly, gracefully, smilingly, whatever the demand, however unreasonable and harmful to herself. She gives not just love, affection and ungrudging service but also, if need be, her health and ultimately her life at the altar of her duty to her husband, children and the rest of her family. Sita, Savitri, Anusuya and various other mythological heroines are used as the archetypes of such a woman and women themselves are deeply influenced by this cultural ideal. . . .

This ideology of slavery and contempt for women in the family plays a more important part than even beatings or bullets in keeping women oppressed. (Kishwar and Vanita 1984:46-7)

One of the letters, translated from Hindi and included in the collection, roundly condemns the pervasive image of the self-effacing woman:

The ideals, ethics and morality heaped on women since time immemorial are suffocating and killing. The adjectives used to praise us have become oppressive. Calling us loving, they have locked us in the closed room of culture, calling us gentle, they have reflected us in a mirror of helplessness, calling us kind, they have tied us in cowardice, they have handcuffed us with modesty and chained our feet with loyalty, so that far from running, we have not been able even to walk. . . .

Now we must refuse to be Sitas. . . . Our exclusion from the scriptures, from temples, from *smritis*, is also our strength . . . (Kishwar and Vanita 1984: 298-9)

But what is this powerful ideology that is accepted without hesitation by some women, like Bhuribai, and yet rejected so vehemently by others? Where may we find its ideals, aims and arguments clearly set out? An increasing number of books and articles are being written in English on the role of women both in India and elsewhere. But India is in the special position of having

an ancient, complex and highly intellectual socio-religious tradition of its own. Scholars from all over the world have spent lifetimes studying the contributions of the pandits of this rich classical past. Where then are the great debates on the status and role of women? Is there not a Sanskrit text on the subject from within this orthodox Hindu tradition?

Indeed there is. One such work that puts the orthodox point of view is Tryambakayajvan's *Strīdharmapaddhati*, or *Guide to the Religious Status and Duties of Women*. This little-known text was written in Sanskrit by an orthodox pandit in eighteenth century Thanjavur (Tanjore) in southern India. While it is clearly not in the same class as the great digests of Sanskrit religious law (*dharmaśāstra*) such as the *Smṛticandrikā* or the *Parāśaramādhvivya*, its importance lies in the fact that it is the only extant work of its kind. Although many *dharmaśāstra* texts contain a section pertaining to women (*strīdharma*), there are no other major works on the subject.<sup>2</sup>

From the socio-historical point of view, Tryambaka's treatise gives a remarkable insight into the daily routines of the eighteenth century court of Thanjavur, and in particular into the life of the orthodox Hindu woman within it. This is especially interesting in view of the fact that the text predates the nineteenth century social reforms instigated by Rammohan Roy and enacted by the British. With regard to eighteenth century Sanskrit scholarship, the treatise throws important light on the encyclopaedic *Dharmākūta* (see pp. 10–12 below), serving as a dharmaśāstric appendix to the saga of Rāma and Sītā as the ideal man and woman.

As always in *dharmaśāstra*, the result is an odd mixture of reality and utopia. It is a basic principle of *mīmāṃsā* philosophy that something can only be prohibited if its occurrence is possible.<sup>3</sup> Thus the prohibitions on wearing no blouse during the day (section IIA, pp. 91–5 below), for example, or on wearing heavy earrings during love-making (section IID, pp. 241–2), imply that women in fact might have done these things. The injunctions betray the ideals of utopia: a woman should always wake before her husband

2. It is particularly unfortunate that there is no surviving manuscript known of the text on *strīdharma* referred to by Kamalākarabhaṭṭa as his own work.

3. *prāptipūrvakah prativedho bhavati // Śab.X.8.10.22.*

(p. 52); she should herself attend upon her husband instead of delegating such duties to servants (pp. 64–5); she should think only of her husband, worshipping him as her god (pp. 273, 280–2, 300, etc.); and so on. Whether they seem to us to be important or trivial, these ideals are the visible signs of the orthodox Hindu culture that Tryambaka is trying to defend. The attack on Hindu ‘righteousness’ (*dharma*) must have seemed to come from many quarters at once: the constant threat of Muslim domination and the encroachment of Islam; the insidious influence of Christian missionaries (such as those at the Jesuit Mission at Madurai) and European traders (the Danes, the Dutch, the French and the British); the customs of the local Tamil population whose women (especially those involved in the productive sphere) enjoyed a far greater freedom than their sisters at the Maratha court; and the increasingly popular devotional religion (*bhakti*) which claimed that women and low-caste (*sūdra*) men could reach heaven directly without even attending to their traditional duties.

Tryambaka is a collectivist. His concern is not with women as individuals but as parts that fit into and therefore strengthen the whole. While advocating conformity, however, the treatise is itself an admission of the power of nonconformist women to wreck the entire edifice of Hindu orthodoxy. For when women are ‘corrupted’, all is lost (see note 7 below).

The norms presented in the *Strīdharmapaddhati* do not hold for all Hindu women in India today; yet, as I shall explain, a surprising proportion of the behaviour described is praised or adhered to in traditional areas even now. Nor do they necessarily tell us how women behaved in Tryambaka’s day; yet we may assume that high-caste women were expected and encouraged to conform. What they do tell us without any doubt is how an orthodox pandit in eighteenth century Thanjavur—summarising a tradition already over a thousand years old in his day—thought women *ought* to behave. This is the pervasive ideology in question. The aim of the current study is to explore it in depth.

#### *Mode of presentation and overview of the contents of the Strīdharmapaddhati*

The decision to merge translation and commentary rather than to conform to the usual separation of the two requires some explanation.

The main reason for this is that the text itself is not unduly difficult. The Sanskrit style is largely that of the lawbooks and the epics. It has none of the more tortuous complexities of, for example, a treatise in Sanskrit grammar or logic. The important task in a text of this nature is therefore not an analysis of roots and compounds, but an elucidation of the overall world view within which the treatise was written; an exploration not of specific words and their meanings, but of the values assumed and the prejudices implied. For this kind of intellectual history, it was deemed unnecessary to separate text and translation from commentary in the traditional manner.

Nonetheless, specialists in *dharmaśāstra* and others wishing to make a thorough check of text and translation will have no difficulty in doing so. In the major portions of this study, as explained below, every ruling and comment is rendered into English. While all translated passages are incorporated into the commentary, they are clearly distinguished from it by inverted commas. The complete Sanskrit text is provided in the form of corresponding notes, together with additional textual comments and references.

It was also felt that a merging of commentary and translation in this way to form a continuous narrative would appeal to a wider audience than merely the specialist. Indeed it was hoped that a more readable analysis of this rather bizarre document would make it accessible to scholars and non-specialists alike in a wide variety of fields: from religious law, Indology and comparative religion to anthropology, sociology and women's studies.

The basic divisions of the text follow those of the earliest available manuscript of Tryambaka's work (see appendix pp. 331-8). The order in which the individual topics are dealt with, unless otherwise specified, does likewise. The emphases, however, are mine.

In particular, while I have divided the work into five major sections (I-V), I have chosen to discuss only the first three of these at length. The reason for this is simple but compelling. In manuscript form, the complete text covers 94 folios, comprising 184 closely written sides excluding duplicates and blanks. A detailed analysis of the entire work would have been prohibitively long. It was essential, therefore, to concentrate on those sections which may be considered unique or of special relevance in a study of this kind, while merely touching on topics which—although of interest in themselves—are already receiving attention from other scholars.

A brief description of the contents of each of the five main sections will demonstrate the basis on which this choice was made. Furthermore, the exact length of each section, what proportion it forms of the whole text, and the mode of presentation used in the current study for each one (i.e. translation and commentary, extended essay, or summary) is given below in the form of a table.

Section I contains Tryambaka's introductory remarks and is extremely short: only two and a half sides in manuscript form, representing 1½ per cent of the total work. However, precisely because it is the opening section and thus provides a first sketch of the general framework into which the treatise will fit, it deserves special consideration. A coherent analysis of this section is essential in order to make this framework clear at the outset. This entails a precise English translation of Tryambaka's text (indicated by inverted commas), together with the complete Sanskrit text (given as corresponding notes), and followed by a detailed explanation of the meaning and implications of each point raised. As a result, some of the more important assumptions and unarticulated tensions — even contradictions — inherent in the traditional image of the orthodox Hindu wife are brought to the fore.

In this and all subsequent sections, each textual attribution made by Tryambaka either for individual rulings or, indiscriminately, for groups of rulings is indicated in two ways. When introducing or commenting on a given ruling, the attribution is mentioned: either as given in the text if there can be no confusion (e.g. 'according to Manu' for *manuh*); or, if necessary, in an expanded form (e.g. 'in the *Anusāsanaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*' for *tathā cānusāsanike*). Secondly, the attribution is given in abbreviated form in parenthesis in the Sanskrit note (e.g. Sdhp. 21v.3–4 (Rām.) < Mbh.XIII.38.29b; in this case indicating that, although Tryambaka attributes the quotation to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, it in fact comes from the *Mahābhārata*). While every effort has been made to provide a source for each quotation given, some gaps inevitably remain. The author would be glad to hear from readers able to fill any of them.

Section II constitutes the bulk of this study. In terms of Tryambaka's text, however, it represents less than a fifth of the whole. But this compact and complex section of the *Strīdharmapaddhati* is unique. While detailed descriptions of the daily practice of the orthodox Hindu male householder form a recurrent and important

topic of *dharmaśāstra*, it is unusual to find parallel rulings for women at any length.

This rare attempt to map out a woman's day in detail (*strīnām āhnikam*) therefore deserves careful consideration. For everything the good Hindu wife should do—from the moment she wakes in the morning to the moment she sleeps at night—is discussed from the point of view of the 'sacred norms' of religious law (*dharmaśāstra*). Some of the rulings are identical to the equivalent rulings applied to men; some are the same in principle but different in detail; others relate to the husband's obligations and thus to the wife's corresponding duty to assist him in fulfilling them; still others, largely those concerned with housework, are peculiar to women. A close analysis of both the explicit beliefs expressed and the implicit understandings involved is rewarding.

The mode of presentation in this section is identical to that in section I: a precise English translation; the complete Sanskrit text given as notes; and a detailed discussion of each point raised. In particular, each ruling is discussed in the specific context of *dharmaśāstra*, as far as possible allowing the discipline to speak for itself. For ease of assimilation, this large body of rules has been further subdivided into four: those pertaining to the period before dawn (section IIA, pp. 51–101); those pertaining to the rituals at dawn (section IIB, pp. 102–55); those relating to the daytime (section IIC, pp. 156–233); and those associated with the evening (section IID, pp. 234–45).

Section III covers just under three manuscript sides, representing a mere 1½ per cent of the total work. But it contains a fascinating and original digression on the inherent nature of women (*strīsvabhāvah*) that deserves more detailed elaboration.

For Tryambaka bravely faces, and attempts to resolve, an apparently insuperable problem here. Briefly, it runs as follows. If, as is widely acknowledged, women are inherently wicked, is there any point in instructing them on how to be virtuous? Is not the *Strīdharmapaddhati* itself a waste of time?

Tryambaka's response is twofold. First, he admits that women are innately wicked; indeed he argues the point rather forcefully. Secondly, he insists that women also possess innate good qualities such as purity, and that—as women—they are uniquely blessed; and he proceeds to demonstrate this with equal vigour. On examination, this apparent contradiction rests on a radical (if theoretically

illogical) distinction between two crucial concepts relating to women: *strīsvabhāva* (the wicked nature of women) and *strīdharma* (the virtuous behaviour of women or, more accurately, wives). This distinction underlies many of the extraordinary pronouncements concerning women that must strike anyone familiar with Indian literature. The physical aspects of being female—menstruation, sexuality, childbirth, and so on—are taboo; women as biological creatures are condemned; the wild untamed goddesses, their counterparts in myth and symbol, are feared and appeased. Respect, even reverence, is reserved for those women in whom the biological has been controlled: the obedient wife, the selfless mother, and the gentle goddesses of the Indian imagination.

So important is this section to an understanding of the complexities surrounding the position of women in Indian culture that it has been treated somewhat differently from sections I and II. None of the rulings have escaped translation; nor is any of the corresponding Sanskrit absent from the notes. However, the entire section has been incorporated into an expanded essay on the nature of women in orthodox Hindu thought. The resulting presentation is no less faithful to Tryambaka's work than the previous ones.

Section IV covers sixty and a half manuscript sides and represents a third of the whole work. However, for the reasons outlined above, it has been considered in far less detail than the foregoing sections.

Under the general heading of 'duties common to all women' (*strīnām sādhāraṇā dharmāḥ*), Tryambaka groups together a variety of rulings to form nine extremely important and stimulating topics: general rulings on the behaviour appropriate to women; things a woman should avoid (*varjanīyāḥ*); women's property (*strīdhanam*); the concept of the devoted wife (*pativrata*); menstruation (*rajashvalādharmāḥ*); pregnancy (*garbhīṇīdharmāḥ*); the woman whose husband is away (*prośitabhartṛkādharmāḥ*); the practice of suttee (more properly, of 'becoming *sati*') or dying with one's husband (*sahagamanavidhiḥ*); and widowhood (*vidhavādharmāḥ*). Clearly, each of these topics would benefit from a monograph of its own. Tryambaka's rather laboured recommendation of *sahagamana*, or becoming *sati*, is of particular interest. In this study, however, because of the decision to concentrate fully on sections I–III, close translation and detailed analysis are replaced by summary.

Both Tryambaka's divisions, and the order in which he deals with them, have been maintained. Within each subsection, the

general attitude has been summarised; the main arguments quoted or paraphrased; and the important points highlighted. The more crucial, resounding or better-known rulings are translated in full, with the corresponding Sanskrit text given as notes. It is hoped that this treatment will provide readers with sufficient preliminary information on each topic to inspire them to pursue their interests elsewhere.

Section V is the longest: there are eighty-one and a half manuscript sides, representing almost half of the whole work. While section II of Tryambaka's treatise is probably intended as a kind of instruction manual for the chief wife of the head of the household, together with her co-wives, this section seems to be more a collection of inspirational material perhaps directed primarily towards the new daughters-in-law coming as young brides into the home. In essence, however, it contains only one point: that a woman's highest duty is service to her husband.

This unwieldy section forms the conclusion to Tryambaka's treatise. His single stark message is defined in three ways: that she should have no regard for her own life; that she should even allow herself to be sold; and that obedience to her husband takes precedence over all other religious duties. These three subpoints are then illustrated at varying lengths with stories culled from the epics and *purāṇas*, often without added comment. Some of his quotations are short, others extremely long; many are well known; most have been translated in full by other scholars elsewhere.

There follows a brief discussion of what is meant by 'service to one's husband' and 'obedience to his command'; and whether the two could ever be in conflict. The next thirty-five manuscript sides tell virtually the whole story of Sāvitrī, the most famous *pativrata* of all, taken verbatim from the *Mahābhārata*. The remaining three and a half pages consist of Tryambaka's final summary, the closing verses, and the colophon.

The treatment of this section is similar to that of section IV. Tryambaka's general approach to this mass of material has been retained: the main divisions, and the order in which they are taken, are his. The stories he quotes at such length are summarised as briefly as possible; and no additional comment is made unless strictly necessary. A few rulings and quotations that are especially appropriate or significant are translated in full with the corresponding Sanskrit text given as notes. The final summary, the closing

verses, and the colophon each receive a full translation for which the Sanskrit text is also given.

Figure 1 shows the mode of presentation.

Section nos.	Folio nos.	No. of MS sides	Proportion of text (%)	Mode of presentation
I	1v.1-2v.5	2½	1½	Full trans.; Skt text; detailed comment
II	2v.5-21r.3	36½	19¾	
III	21r.3-22r.8	3	1½	Full trans. & Skt text incorp. in ext. essay.
IV	22r.8-48v.6	60½	33	Summary + selected trans. & text.
V	48v.6-88r.1	81½	44½	
		184	100	

Figure 1. The Mode of Presentation

### *The author of the Strīdharmapaddhati*

The issue involves three names.

1. Tryambakayajvan, to whom the *Strīdharmapaddhati* is ascribed in the colophon;
2. Tryambakarāyamakhin, the most famous of the family of pandit-ministers at the court of the Maratha Rajas of Thanjavur, and the ascribed author of the *Dharmākūta*, a remarkable encyclopaedic commentary on the *Rāmāyaṇa*; and
3. Dhunḍhirāja(vyāsayajvan), court pandit and poet, protégé of Tryambakarāyamakhin, and author of the *Mudrārākṣasavyākhyā*. The relationship between these three is far from clear.

Raghavan's *New Catalogus Catalogorum* gives the following information.

1. Tryambakayajvan, pupil of Yajñeśa, is the author of the *Strīdharmapaddhati* and the *Gārhasthyadīpikā*.
2. Tryambakarāyamakhin, the minister of Serfoji, is the patron of Dhunḍhirāja and the ascribed author of the *Dharmākūta*, which text was in fact composed by his protégé.
3. Dhunḍhirāja, son of Laksmanavyāsa, protégé of Tryambakarāyamakhin, Śāhaji, Serfoji and Raghunātha, is the author

of the *Dharmākūta* (ascribed to Tryambakarāyamakhin), the *Mudrārākṣasavyākhyā*, the *Rājakośanighaṇṭu* (ascribed to Raghunātha) and the *Śāhavilāsagītā*.

In his introduction to the *Śāhendravilāsa*, Raghavan states categorically that the author of the *Strīdharmapaddhati* and the *Gārhasthyadīpikā* is not the pandit-minister, Tryambakarāyamakhin (1952:28, note 2).

Sastri's *Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Sarasvati Mahal Library* gives somewhat different information.

1. Under 'Tryambakayajvan', the *Strīdharmapaddhati* and the *Gārhasthyadīpikā* are listed in two separate entries. No connection is made between the two.

2. Under 'Tryambakarāyamakhin', we find that this is the author of the *Dharmākūta* and that the author's name is given variously as Tryambakarāyamakhin, Tryambakayajvan and Tryambakamakhin.

3. Under 'Dundhivyāsa' and 'Dundhirāja', son of Laksmaṇasudhī, we find two works listed: the *Mudrārākṣasavyākhyā* and the *Śāhavilāsagītā*. Sastri too notes that the Tryambakayajvan of the *Strīdharmapaddhati* and the Tryambakarāyamakhin of the *Dharmākūta* are not the same.

Several Tryambakas are listed in J.H. Vora's *Kavikāvyakālakalpanā* (an alphabetical index to the dates of Indian authors and works, written in Gujarati and loosely based on Aufrecht). Among them,

1. 'Tryambaka' is described as the pupil of Yajñeśa and the author of the *Gārhasthyapaddhati*;

2. 'Tryambakayajvan' as the author of the *Dharmākūta*; and

3. 'Tryambakarāyamakhin' as the author of the *Strīdharmapaddhati* and the *Kuladharmapaddhati*. (The *Kuladharmapaddhati* is given in Raghavan's catalogue as a tantric work by yet another Tryambaka about whom one knows nothing more. Winternitz (1905:271) describes it as a work on tantric rites belonging to the nineteenth century. There is no manuscript of this text in the Sarasvati Mahal Library.)

I maintain that 'Tryambakayajvan' is Tryambakarāyamakhin; and thus that the author of the *Strīdharmapaddhati* is also the author of both the *Gārhasthyadīpikā* and the famous *Dharmākūta*. The evidence is as follows.

First, the colophons of the *Strīdharmapaddhati* and the *Gār-*

*hasthyadīpikā* are identical, each ascribing authorship to Tryambakayajvan, pupil of Yajñeśa.<sup>4</sup> Secondly, the author of the *Dharmākūta* also gives his teacher's name as Yajñeśa (e.g. Dharmāk. VI.p.457). Thirdly, there is a clear statement in the *Strīdharmapaddhati* itself that its author also wrote the *Dharmākūta*. On the subject of wearing the *tilaka*, a lengthy quotation from the *Dharmākūta* is prefaced with the words: 'For in the *Dharmākūta*, (the commentary) on the *Rāmāyana*, which was written by me...' (*ata evāsmatkr̥tarāmāyanadharmākūte*; see section II, p. 98, note 74). In addition, the *Dharmākūta* is both cited (e.g. 'Further examples are to be found in the *Dharmākūta* (commentary) on the *Rāmāyana*'; see section III, p. 250, note 18) and quoted at length (see section IIA, pp. 96, 98–100, notes 73, 75–8; etc.). Finally, the titles *yajvan* and *makhin* are synonymous, probably commemorating the great sacrifice performed by the pandit-minister and described by Bhagavantarāya in the *Rāghavābhūdaya* (Raghavan 1952:26).

All this suggests that Tryambakayajvan and Tryambakarāya-makhin are indeed one and the same; and that this one Tryambaka wrote all three works. In that case, the earliest date for the composition of the *Strīdharmapaddhati* is the year when the *Dharmākūta* was completed (1719); the latest that of the year of minister Tryambakarāya's death (1750).

The relationship between Tryambaka and Dhundhirāja is less clear. As Raghavan points out in his introduction to the *Śāhendravilāsa*, the introductory verses in Dhundhirāja's *Mudrārākṣasavyākhyā* are identical to those in the *Dharmākūta*. Raghavan concludes that Dhundhirāja is the author of both works, thereby strengthening his description of himself as the king's *paurāṇika* (1952:26–7). The custom of attributing works to a king or minister is certainly common enough to warrant this assumption. However, it is also possible that Tryambaka wrote the *Mudrārākṣasavyākhyā*, or at least that he lifted the introductory verses from it. Since the author of the *Dharmākūta* is, as I have argued, the author of the *Strīdharmapaddhati* and the *Gārhasthyadīpikā* as well, I prefer to withhold judgement on this important point until further detailed textual analysis of all four texts can be made, a task outside the scope of a study of this kind.

4. *guruyajñeśakṛpayā śrīmattryambakayajvanā / prītaye śrīnr̥simhasya kṛtā gārhasthyadīpikā // Gārhasthyadīpikā 59r.2. Cf. Sdhp. 88r. 7–8, section V, note 10.*

Throughout my discussion of the *Strīdharmapaddhati*, I shall therefore refer to the author as 'Tryambaka'. This assumes the identity of Tryambakayajvan and Tryambakarāyamakhin but not necessarily the substitution of Dhundhirāja for them both. Additional information on the lives and works of both these men is given below (pp. 16–19).

### *The political background: the Maratha Rajas of Thanjavur*

The Maratha lineage can be traced back to Bābājī Bhosle (c.1533–97), the hereditary village headman of several villages near Pune in Maharashtra. His grandson, Shāhjī, married twice: leaving his first wife and son in the Deccan, he took his second wife and son with him on his military expeditions to the south. By 1676, both Bābājī's great-grandsons—Śivājī (1627–80) in the Deccan and his half-brother Ekojī (c.1630–86) in Thanjavur—had set themselves up as independent Hindu kings in an India dominated by Muslim overlords. (For a fuller account of this early period, see Leslie 1983(2): appendix B.) It is the Maratha dynasty at Thanjavur that concerns us here (figure 2).

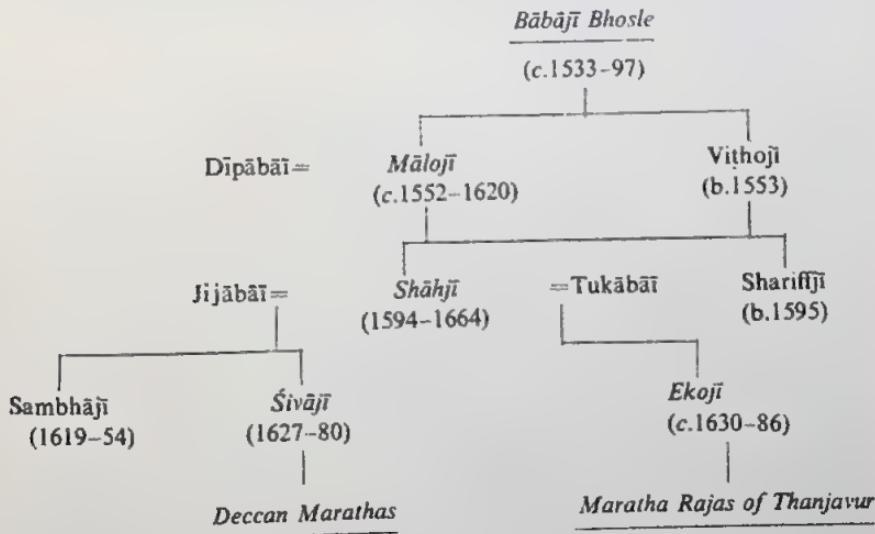


Figure 2. Origins of the Maratha Rajas of Thanjavur

At first, Ekojī's kingdom comprised most of the Thanjavur district, Arni, Porto Novo, and Shāhjī's large *jāgīr* lands of Bangalore; but it was soon reduced. On Shāhjī's death, Śivājī demanded his legal share of his father's wealth, property and lands in the

south. When Ekoji refused, Šivājī made an alliance with the Sultan of Golkonda and marched into Karnataka. By 1677, all except Thanjavur itself was under his command. At last, encouraged by his queen, Dīpāmbā, Ekoji surrendered. In return for a large sum of money, half the family jewels, and half the revenue on Shāhjī's southern *jāgīrs*, he was allowed to keep Thanjavur; and the *jāgīr* lands were restored to him. For her part in the affair, Dīpāmbā received the revenue of the districts of Bangalore, a grant that was to be handed on through the female line (see pp. 277–80 for Tryambaka's discussion of women's property). In addition, Ekoji was formally released from his obligation to the Bijapur sultanate: he was to rule as an independent king, answerable only to his half-brother in the Deccan. (For the complete treaty between Šivājī and Ekoji, see Takakhav 1921:459–62). This agreement was soon validated by Bijapur. For when Šivājī returned to the Deccan in c.1678, he was called upon to defend the Sultan against Mughal attack. A new treaty was signed: the Adil-Shahi government renounced all claims to Shāhjī's southern *jāgīrs*, including Thanjavur, and ceded all such claims to Šivājī. Ekoji's well-founded fears of dependency on his half-brother were not removed until Šivājī's death in 1680.

That independence too was short-lived. In the Deccan, Maratha opposition was at a low ebb. The Deccan Sultans were conquered in turn by the Mughals. In c.1687, the Mughal army entered Karnataka. Meanwhile, more of Ekoji's kingdom was being eroded. As the power of Cikkadeva of Mysore (1672–1704) rose and Mughal dominion spread southwards, Ekoji's territories in Karnataka became increasingly difficult to defend. A grant of Cikkadeva in 1686, for example, describes a number of victories over the Marathas. At one point, Ekoji was on the point of selling Bangalore to Cikkadeva when the Mughals seized it and sold it to him themselves. Cikkadeva then seized the adjacent districts also held by Ekoji. (The fortress of Arni continued to be a nominal dependency of Thanjavur until 1771.) By 1691, Thanjavur was controlled by the Mughals who received an annual tribute of four lakhs (although an army usually had to march on Thanjavur to collect it). Ekoji had shifted his allegiance once more: first from Bijapur to Šivājī; now from Šivājī to the Mughals. Thanjavur was completely cut off from the great Maratha confederacy that Šivājī had begun to build.

It is against this background of double isolation that the

Thanjavur dynasty (figure 3), should be considered: the cultural isolation of a ruling Maratha elite amidst a Tamil-speaking population; the political and psychological isolation of a Hindu kingdom struggling to retain both independence and identity in the face of Mughal might.

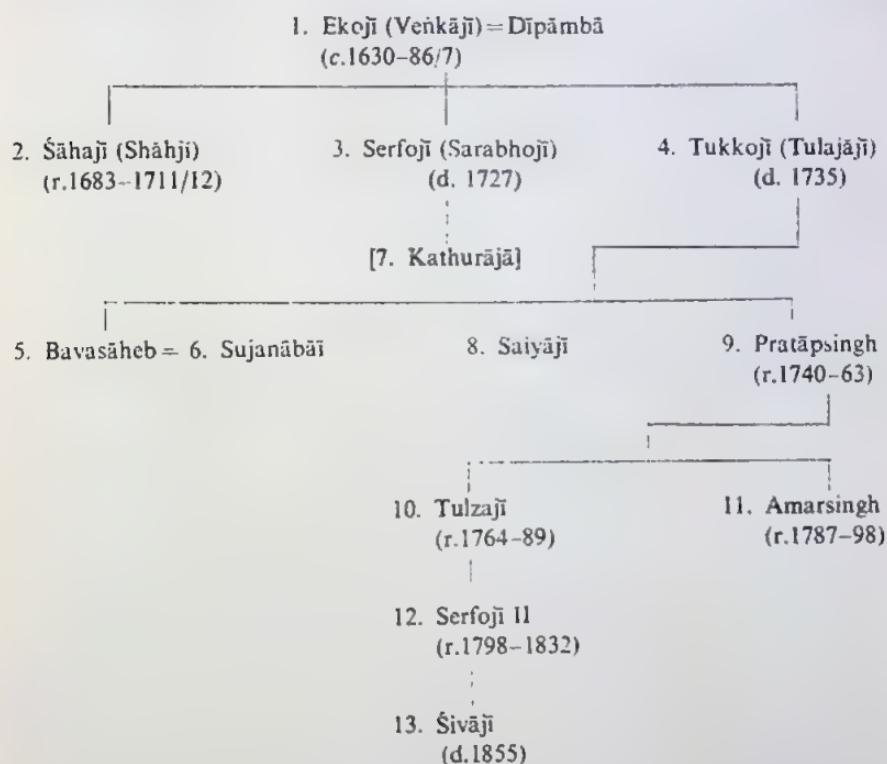


Figure 3. The Maratha Rajas of Thanjavur

According to Marathi inscriptions in the *Bṛhadīśvara* temple, Ekoji died in 1682 (Gopalan 1980:ix; Marathi text, *śaka* 1604, p.56; 1683, Subramanian 1928:17). The records of the East India Company make frequent references to him for a decade or more after that but this may indicate a confusion between him and his eldest son. Other sources (e.g. the *Dharmākūta*, intro.; *Sāhendravilāsa* II.98-9; an inscription in Pattukottai) suggest that Ekoji abdicated in favour of Sāhajī in 1683-4, but did not actually die until 1686-7 (Subramanian 1928:17-18).<sup>5</sup> According to the Marathi

5. For somewhat different dates based on the *Modī* documents of Thanjavur preserved in Danish archives, and for a useful discussion of the various calendrical systems used, see Strandberg 1983:22,40-43.

inscription, the three sons ruled jointly; in practice, this seems to have meant that the younger ones acted as viceroys in their own *subas*. After Šāhajī's death in 1711–12, Serfojī and Tukkojī are said to have ruled jointly until the elder's death in 1727. Both Šāhajī and Serfojī died without heirs. Tukkojī ruled alone until his death in 1735.

The history of the Maratha Rajas is dotted with small wars: a constant struggle for land and power between adjoining kingdoms. When the centre of Maratha opposition to the Mughals moved to Jiñjī, Šāhajī sent help to his cousin, Rājarām, and his queen, Tārābāī. Serfojī was involved in the division of the Maratha kingdom. Tukkojī concluded the war with Rāmnad begun by his brother; sent help to Mīnāksī of Trichinopoly; and expelled the Mughals from Madurai.

1736–9 was a dark period of disputed successions. Bavasāheb (also known as Ekojī II) died after a year. His queen ruled for a while before being imprisoned by a pretender, Kathurājā, who claimed to be the son of the heirless Serfojī. After a few days, he was deposed in favour of Saiyājī. Within two years, Saiyājī too was deposed in favour of an illegitimate son, Pratāpsingh, who proceeded to remove all trace of his predecessor from the records. Pratāpsingh ruled for twenty-three years, during which time the British entered the affairs of Thanjavur and made their first successful attempt to acquire territory in India by military attack. In 1799, Serfojī II (an adopted son) resigned the government of his kingdom into the hands of the East India Company, with a proviso safeguarding his own rank and maintenance: Thanjavur became a British province while its raja received a fixed allowance and a proportion of the revenue. When Serfojī II died in 1832, the same privileges were accorded to his son Šivājī until his death in 1855. The lack of natural (i.e. not adopted) male heirs at this point enabled the British to take over completely: in accordance with Dalhousie's 'doctrine of lapse', the title and privileges of raja were abolished.

### *The intellectual milieu*

The reigns of Ekojī and his three sons (1676–1736) have left an astonishing crop of literature in several languages. Telugu was inherited from the Nāyaks (see Leslie 1983(2): appendix B), but the Telugu works of this period are largely inferior to those produced under the Nāyaks. The literature in Tamil, the language of the

people, is also not of the highest quality. But the contribution to Marathi and Sanskrit literature is considerable.

Of the Marathi authors of Thanjavur, perhaps the best known are Raghunātha Pañdita, Ānandatanaya, Gosavinandana and Subhan Rāo. Most of their works are short compositions on purānic or religious subjects, or short metrical works describing Śāhajī, his mother Dīpāmbā, and the splendours of Thanjavur. As for Sanskrit literature, this was a period of the most intensive scholarship due in particular to the patronage of the royal family and the family of pandit-ministers that guided them.

Of the four kings of the period, Ekojī is remembered mainly for his continued use of the Telugu language at court, and of the cultural and musical traditions of the Nāyaks.

Śāhajī was renowned as a scholar, linguist and composer. He seems to have been proficient in Marathi, Telugu, Sanskrit, Persian and Hindi, and a remarkable number of works in several languages are ascribed to him (Sastri 1934:xxviii–ix; Raghavan 1952:22). These are largely dramatic or poetic works: musical compositions, especially *padas* in praise of the family deity, Śrī Tyāgarāja or Tyāgeśa of Tiruvārūr; and works dealing with the science of music. He himself is eulogised in many works, including the *Śāhendravilāsa* by the revered saint Śrī Veṅkaṭeśvara (Ayyāvāl). Several of Śāhajī's works concern themes that suggest a serious interest in the ideals of *strīdharma* (e.g. the stories of Pārvatī, Sītā, Draupadī; a eulogy of *pativrata-dharma*; a poem on a woman's behaviour when her husband is away; another to his mother, Dīpāmbā; and so on). In 1693, probably under the influence of his minister, Tryambakarāya, Śāhajī renamed the village of Tiruviśanallūr as Śāhajīrājapuram and made a gift of it to forty-five scholars and poets for the perpetual performance of sacrifices and the free creation of religious, literary and musical works. Raghavan's excellent introduction to his edition of the *Śāhendravilāsa* gives the names and works of each of these pandits (1952:37–49). They include such famous names as Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita (adept in all the philosophies and known as the modern Patañjali), Bhāskara Dīkṣita, Vedakavi, Mahādevakavi and Śrīdhara Veṅkaṭeśvara. As a result of Śāhajī's beneficence, the village became the centre of scholarship in languages, literature, philosophy and medicine throughout the Maratha period in Thanjavur.

Kings Serfojī and Tukkojī continued these traditions of scholar-

ship and music, both composing works themselves and, like Śāhajī, patronising whole villages of learned men. Literature and inscriptions are eloquent in praise of their patronage.

The ministers who served and guided these scholar-kings were themselves great supporters of Vedic tradition and Sanskrit learning. They too performed sacrifices, patronised individual scholars, and endowed scholastic settlements.

Perhaps the most famous of these was Tryambakarāyamakhin (1665–1750) who, according to his own account was trained by Ekojī to be Śāhajī's minister (Dharmāk.: intro.) Tryambakarāya is famous in south India even today both as a minister and as a writer on religious law (*dharmasāstra*). In the *Śāhendravilāsa*, he is described as Śāhajī's learned minister, the performer of Vedic sacrifices and the patron of scholars (VI.40–4). His fame today rests in particular on the *Dharmākūta*, a massive Sanskrit commentary commissioned by Serfojī on the epic poem, the *Rāmāyana*. It is an original and ambitious work, consisting of six separate and lengthy dissertations on six of the seven sections of the epic poem. Quite unlike other commentaries, it gives a step-by-step explanation of how the story of the *Rāmāyana* accords with the precepts of religious law.

Figure 4 gives the genealogy of the ministerial family constructed according to the information given in Dhunḍhirāja's commentary on the *Mudrārākṣasa* and Appadīkṣita's *Ācāranavanīta* (TD.18048/9; see also Krishnamachariar 1937: 246–8).

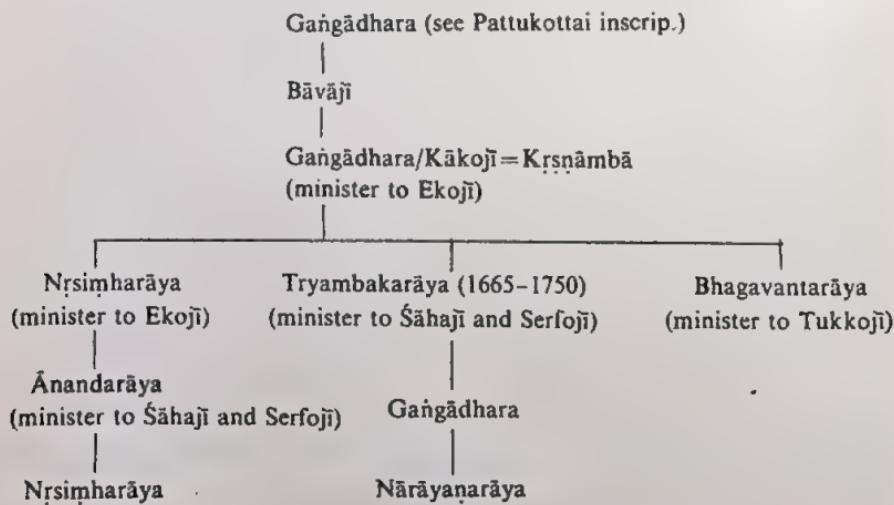


Figure 4. The family of ministers

As noted above, Tryambakarāya is known as the author of the *Dharmākūta*, and a patron of the court pandit and poet, Dhunḍhirājavyāsa (see pp. 10–13). Bhagavantarāya is said to be the author of the *Mukundavilāsa*, the *Uttaracampū* and the *Rāghavābhyudaya*. Ānandarāya is held to be the author of the *Āśvalāyanagrhyasūtravṛtti*, the *Jīvānandanāṭaka*, the *Vidyāparinayanāṭaka* and a commentary on it; and the patron of Vedakavi, Vāsudeva Dīksita and Appadhvārin among others. His son, Nṛsimharāya, is said to be the author of the *Tripuravijayacampū*; while Tryambakarāya's grandson, Nārāyaṇarāya, is said to have composed the *Vikramasenacampū* (Raghavan 1952:25–9; Krishnamachariar 1937: 246–7).

Of Dhunḍhirāja, the court poet, we know surprisingly little. He was a Maratha brahmin of Varanasi, resident at Svamimalai near Thanjavur. Although patronised by both kings (Śāhajī and Serfoji) and ministers (Tryambaka and Raghunātha), he seems to have had a special link with Śāhajī. For he describes himself as the king's *paurāṇika* and, when he wrote the *Śāhavilāsagītā*, Śāhajī gave him the title 'Abhinavajayadeva'. Finally, on the end page of *Jñānavilāsagītā* by Jagannātha (TD MS no.3792), there is a comment written in another hand that the MS was found in Varanasi and sent to Thanjavur by Dhunḍhirājajayvan (Raghavan 1952:20, 54–5). Figure 5 shows the genealogy assembled from the works ascribed to him.

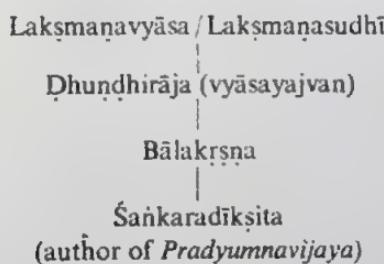


Figure 5. Dhunḍhirāja, court poet

Among the many and varied compositions inspired or commissioned during this period of intense royal and ministerial example and patronage was Tryambakayajvan's *Strīdharmapaddhati*.

### *The women of the period*

As anthropological fieldwork increasingly shows, the more orthodox

ideas concerning women tend to be held even today by high-ranking, land-holding groups among whom patrilineage is strong and wives are economically dependent upon their husbands and their husbands' families. Jacobson, for example, notes that the landed brahmins of Thanjavur and western Karnataka fit this category (1978:100). Certainly, Tryambaka's concern in the *Strīdharmapaddhati* seems to be solely with the imported Maratha élite, that is, with the prosperous (and largely *kṣatriya*) court at Thanjavur. There are no references to women agricultural labourers, market women, or any of the vast army of women who must have been living and working outside the context of the court. The few lower-class or 'outsider' women who are mentioned are referred to fleetingly, with either indifference (e.g. female servants) or disapproval (e.g. courtesans, gambling women, washerwomen, female mendicants, etc.; see section II C, p. 171). The women in Tryambaka's scheme of things are severely restricted — personally, socially, economically, sexually — and the most extreme standards of orthodox and idealised behaviour are demanded of them.

But what do we know about the Maratha élite at court?

First, it seems that for the royal family at least polygamy was the rule. Apart from his chief wife, Dīpāmbā, Ekoji had another wife and nine mistresses who produced between them ten sons; as is the custom, daughters are not mentioned. Śāhaji had several mistresses; Serfoji three queens; and Tukkoji five wives and six concubines from various castes. This seems to have presented political rather than economic problems. Historians write of disputed successions, the interference of queens and mistresses in public life, court intrigues, poisonings, domestic tensions, and the consequent effects on the administration of the state (e.g. Subramanian 1928:23ff.). In such a context, a work prescribing the proper behaviour of women might well have appeared to both kings and ministers to be a project of vital importance.

Secondly, what do we know of any individual women at this Maratha court? In fact, the only woman who emerges as a distinct individual is Dīpāmbā (Dīpābā or Dīpāmbikā), Ekoji's chief wife. It was she who was instrumental in arranging the conciliation between Ekoji and Śivaji, thereby playing a role so crucial to them both that it is commemorated in the treaty they signed (see pp. 13–14 above). Dīpāmbā was evidently both influential and popular. She is frequently mentioned in works of the period and always in

terms of praise. The *Śāhendravilāsa*, for example, gives an account of Dīpāmbā's marriage to Ekoji (I.47–56), her appearance and good qualities (I.57–61), and her pregnancy (I.62–7).

Dīpāmbā is also known to have been the special patron of Raghunātha Paṇḍita, author of the *Prāyaścittakutūhala* and the *Bhojanakutūhala* among other works. In his Marathi work, the *Narakavarṇana*, for example, he lists the Sanskrit and Marathi texts he has written and praises Dīpāmbā for her generous patronage. At least two of his Marathi works (the *Narakavarṇana* and the *Pativrata dharmā*) are both devoted to *strīdharmā* and commissioned by Dīpāmbā.<sup>6</sup> The colophon of the *Narakavarṇana* reads as follows.

Dīpāmbā's words are like the sacred scriptures (*vedavacana*.) She feels that because of Muslim influence, people are turning away from Hindu principles; and that is why she has asked Raghunātha to write on the religious role of women (*strīdharmā*). She has given a settlement for poets, a village called Dīpāmbāpuram, and she has built there a Śiva temple like the one at Vārāṇasi. Dīpāmbā married Ekoji who is like Śiva incarnate; and she has had three sons, who are like the three great goals of human life (*puruṣārtha*) and who praise her greatly (Goswami 1932: vol.II, MS no.573).

The isolation of the Hindu kingdom of Thanjavur amidst Muslim domination seems to have led those in positions of influence to consider ways of reinforcing their own cultural ideals. Dīpāmbā, chief queen and later revered queen mother, was among those who took it upon herself to commission works of this kind (see also Gode 1954).

That a treatise on the proper behaviour of women was considered an appropriate response to the Muslim threat may be interpreted in several ways. The basic assumption of religious law (*dharmaśāstra*) is that, if every individual performs his allotted role, universal harmony will result. Dīpāmbā's commission could mean that she was simply attending to the area of 'righteousness' (*dharma*) that was deemed of fitting concern for a woman. Alternatively, she

6. The *Pativrata pākhyāna* is listed separately in the Thanjavur Catalogue of Marathi manuscripts, but closer inspection reveals that it is in fact identical with the *Pativrata dharmā* with the addition of one verse (Goswami 1932: II, MS. nos. 578, 579).

may have believed women to be especially guilty of the fault of turning away from Hindu principles. She may also have believed that reinforcing the proper role of women in society was the surest way to restore the orthodox Hindu moral code and thus, by extension, the perfect world. Perhaps, like Bhuribai, she too saw the dutiful wife as 'an embodiment of age-old goddess-like virtue and a vital support of the very firmament' (Jacobson 1978:135). Certainly, as an educated woman she would have known the judgement of the *Bhagavadgītā*: 'When wickedness (*adharma*) triumphs, it is the womenfolk who are corrupted; and once the women are corrupted, there will be the mixing of castes'<sup>7</sup> and all the horrors that that entails (i.e. hell and destruction; *Gītā* I.42–4).

It is extremely tempting to suggest that the influence of Dīpāmbā is also to be felt in the composition of the *Strīdharmapaddhati*. The Marathi *Pativrata-dharma*, which we know was commissioned by her, presents teachings on the ideal woman culled from the epics and *purāṇas*. The *Strīdharmapaddhati* does much the same thing, but in greater depth and detail, and with greater recourse to dharmaśāstric works. Whether or not Dīpāmbā actually commissioned the latter, however, it seems safe to conclude that both treatises were inspired by similar fears and aspirations concerning women at that time.

Although neither Dīpāmbā nor Tryambaka give clear instructions regarding when a text like this might have been read, heard or studied by the women for whom it was written, we may hazard an informed guess. For it was a dharmaśāstric ideal—certainly for men but probably for women too—that one should spend the hot period after the midday meal listening to learned pandits reciting suitable passages from the epics and *purāṇas* (see section II, pp. 49 and 232–3). In Bāna's *Kādambarī*, for example, we read of court women such as queen Vilāsavatī doing just this. It is therefore not unreasonable to assume that Tryambaka's *Strīdharmapaddhati* was written for precisely this purpose: to be read aloud and expounded upon for the benefit of the women of the Thanjavur court during their afternoon siesta period. The women themselves need not have been proficient in Sanskrit, or even literate. For the court pandit responsible for the recitation would no doubt have trans-

7. *adharmābhībhavāt kṛṣṇa pradusyanti kulastriyah / strīṣu duṣṭāsu vārsneya jāyate varṇasamkarah* // *Gītā* 1.41.

lated freely and expansively into Marathi in order to bring these vital pronouncements concerning the proper behaviour of women to the attention of those for whom they were intended.

*The literary genre: the Strīdharmapaddhati in the context of religious law (dharmaśāstra)*

As Derrett points out, the Sanskrit word for 'law' (*naya*) rarely occurs in the voluminous literature of *dharmaśāstra*: for this is not the clear-cut world of legalities but the vaguer, utopian realm of precepts (1973(1):11).

If one asks an Indian villager about his religion, he describes not rituals nor the ascetic life but 'righteousness' (*dharma*). Derived from the root  $\sqrt{dhr}$  meaning 'to bear, support, maintain', *dharma* means that which sustains creation, the eternal principle underlying the universe, the fundamental world order. The concept is both descriptive and prescriptive, indicating both what is and what should be: the real is the ideal. In the realm of individual action (*svadharma* for men, *strīdharma* for women), it refers both to what one does and what one ought to do. One's action, defined by circumstance, is also one's religious duty, for it was ordained to be so and is therefore right. In theory, at least, there is no conflict.

Crucial to the concept of *dharma* in the Vedic age was the notion of sacrifice by which men nourished the gods so that they might have the strength to defeat the demons and uphold the law. In those days, the law of the universe was the law of sacrifice. Later, the concept extended beyond sacrifice (though still including it) to the moral world, to the realm of conduct. *Dharma* now came to mean any action that conformed to the cosmic order and permitted the individual to realize his or her allotted destiny. Any action contrary to *dharma* brought its own automatic punishment. As Manu writes, 'When violated, *dharma* destroys; when preserved, *dharma* preserves; therefore *dharma* must not be violated, lest violated *dharma* destroy us.'<sup>8</sup>

Thus the status and role in society of each individual, man or woman, not only reflects *dharma* but upholds it, and in doing so maintains the universe. One's religious duty, therefore, is to conform

8. *dharma eva hato hanti dharma rakṣati rakṣitah / tasmat dharma nā hantavyo mā no dharma hato 'vadhīt //* Manu VIII.15.

to the moral precepts laid down by the specialists in and teachers of *dharma* in the vast literature of *dharmaśāstra*. These precepts are based on the three 'sources of *dharma*': the *Vedas*, tradition, and accepted custom; while Manu (II.12) and Yājñavalkya (I.7) also allow an internal guideline (*ātmatuṣṭi*; literally, 'please yourself') if there is a conflict between the three external authorities. These precepts—in all their complexity of detail, disagreement and debate—are the concern and content of *dharmaśāstra*.

Derrett divides *dharmaśāstra* literature into two basic groups: primary material presented in the form of *sūtras*, *smṛtis* and *purāṇas*; and secondary material. The latter may be subdivided into five categories. First, there are the straightforward commentaries such as those by Medhātithi and Kuilūka on Manu. Secondly, there are the works of comparative scholarship like Vijñāneśvara's *Mitāksarā*; or Aparārka's commentary on Yājñavalkya. Thirdly, there are the more controversial treatises on special subjects such as Jīmūtavāhana's *Dāyabhāga* on inheritance. Fourthly, there is the scissors-and-paste type of digest (e.g. Varadarāja's *Vyavahāra-nirṇaya*; Hemādri's *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*). Lastly, there is the superior digest that is more like a lecture with supporting quotations, such as Śrīdhara's *Smṛtyarthasāra*; Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa's *Smṛticandrikā*, the *Parāśaramādhavīya*, or Kamalākarabhaṭṭa's *Nirṇayasindhu* (Derrett 1973(1):24ff., 47ff.).

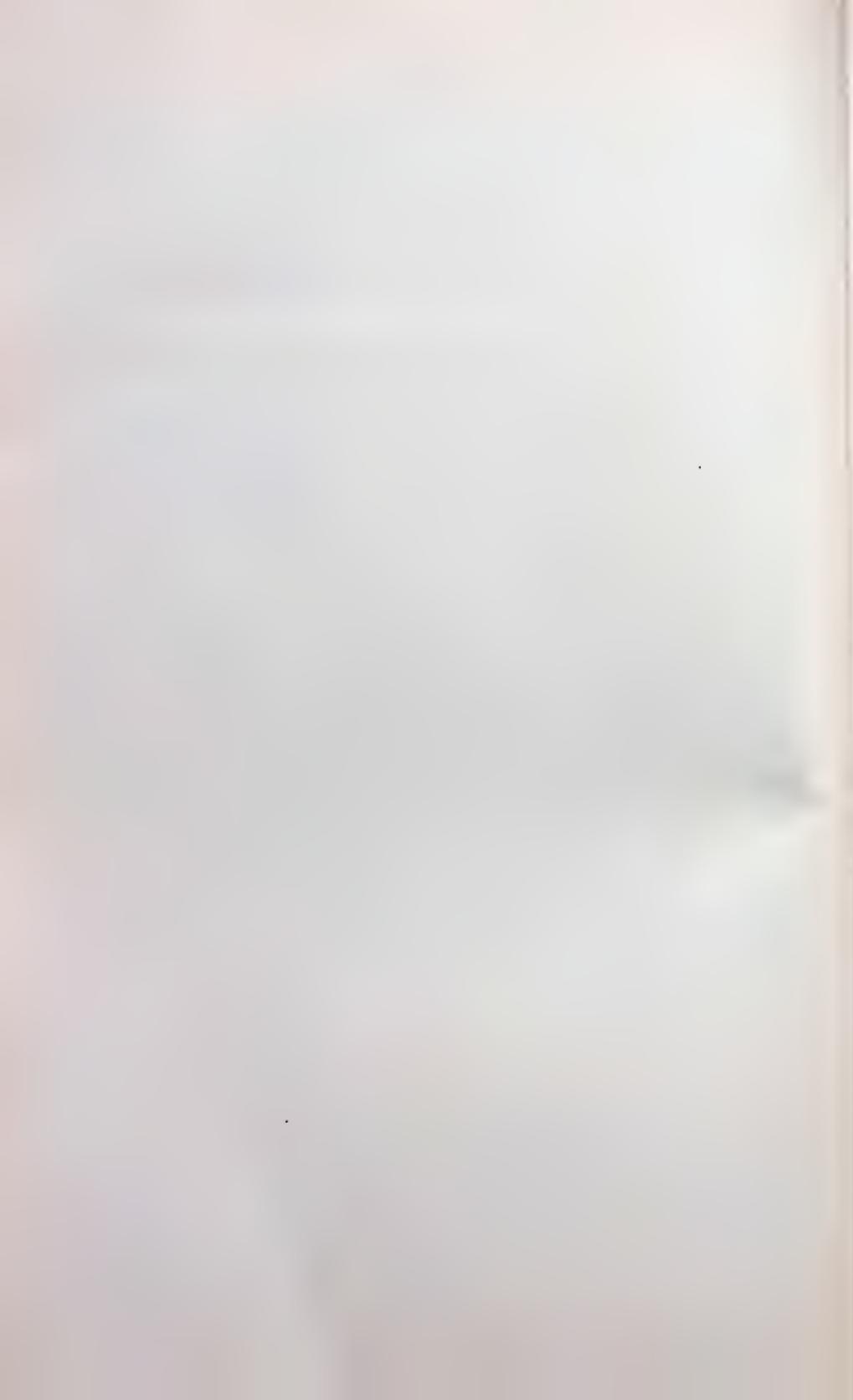
The *Śrīdharmapaddhati* seems to fit Derrett's last sub-category best; yet it must be admitted that it is not in the same class as the great digests given as examples. As a treatise entirely devoted to the special subject of women, it also belongs to the third sub-category. In places, however, it shares characteristics of the fourth or inferior, scissors-and-paste type of digest: for example, most of the extremely lengthy section V consists of collected quotations with little or no additional comment.

Digests of both kinds are almost always the result of royal patronage. For a king sought to enhance his reputation as the upholder of *dharma* by employing scholars to compile appropriate works. This need would have been felt especially keenly by the orthodox Marathas of Thanjavur who, by Tryambaka's time, were completely cut off from the Sanskrit culture of the north, the hallowed region called *brahmāvarta* (Manu II.17–18).

Tryambaka himself seems to have been familiar with the major south Indian works on *dharma*. There are even marked similarities

with some of the best-known south Indian digests: Vaidyanāthaśikṣita's *Smṛtimuktāphala*, Devanāṇabhatta's *Smṛticandrikā*, and the *Parāśaramādhavīya*. Indeed, the quotations and attributions made in the *Strīharmapaddhati* are often so similar to those in the appropriate sections of the *Smṛtimuktāphala* that a consultation with the latter has clarified the occasional doubtful reading in the former.

With regard to the primary material quoted, Tryambaka gives considerable weight to the *sūtras* of Āpastamba, in particular the *Āpastambadharmaśāstra* and Haradatta's commentary on it, the *Ujjvalā* (spelled *Ujvalā* throughout). This emphasis, together with Tryambaka's use of the honorific plural for Āpastamba alone (see section II B, pp. 136, 143, notes 34, 44), suggests that he belonged to the *Āpastambāśākhā* of the *Kṛṣṇayajurveda*. This agrees with recent research on *śrauta* ritual. According to Staal, for example, the southern tradition is 'characterised by the preponderance of the Taittirīya school of Black Yajur Veda with Āpastamba as the prevailing *sūtra*' (1983:I, 170–1; map B; I, 3b, Table I). According to Smith, the Āpastamba branch of the *Kṛṣṇayajurveda* was predominant for at least two millennia in much of south India and Maharashtra. Indeed, the Āpastamba ritualists have maintained their *śrauta* traditions more completely than have the ritualists of any other Vedic *śākhās*; to the extent that, today, the Āpastambins comprise approximately 80 per cent of the practising Vedic ritualists in India (1984:xviii, 166 ff.; for recent *śrauta* traditions in Tamil Nadu in general and Thanjavur in particular, see also Kashikar and Parpola 1983:232–9, maps 4 and 4B).



The *Strīdharmapaddhati*  
of Tryambakayajvan



# I. Tryambaka's Introduction

(Sdhp. 1v. 1–2v. 5)

Tryambaka opens his treatise with a typical invocation: 'Hail to Gaṇādhipati! Hail to Sarasvatī! Hail to (the line) of teachers!'<sup>1</sup> Gaṇādhipati, more commonly called Gaṇapati or Gaṇeśa ('Lord of troops'), is traditionally worshipped as the remover of obstacles. As 'one who causes an auspicious beginning' (*māngalārambhah*), he is invoked at the start of rituals or other projects. This is however a late development: Gaṇeśa<sup>2</sup> is not invoked in the *grhya-* or *dharmaśūtras*. Sarasvatī is the goddess of eloquence and learning.

The text continues with four introductory verses.

1. 'Obedient service to one's husband (*bhartṛśuśrūṣānam*) is the primary religious duty enjoined by sacred tradition for women. When the daughter of the Himalayas (Pārvatī) realized that this duty was endorsed by her father, she put it into practice and so assumed the form (*abhajata*) of half the body of her husband. May she always show me how to follow the path of sacred law!'<sup>3</sup>

*Śuśrūṣānam* and *śuśrūṣā* (lit. 'desire to hear') cover a range of meanings and associations from the reverential (such as the Vedic student's ministrations to his teacher and the devotee's homage to his god) to the subservient (such as the obsequious services of the slave). With regard to women, it manages to combine all three and describes the proper attitude of the wife to her lord: obedience in matters of principle; diligent and attentive service in the practical matters of every day. It also bridges without difficulty the apparent gap between religious duties and daily chores: the wife's service to her husband in the home is her worship of her god. Tryambaka returns to this topic in his concluding section where he defines *patiśuśrūṣānam* in three different ways (see section V, p. 305). In particular, he argues that the term 'service' (*śuśrūṣā*) covers every-

1. //śrī gaṇādhipataye namah// //śrī sarasvatyai namah// //śrī gurubhyo namah// //Sdhp.1v.1.

2. mukhyo dharmah smṛtiṣu vihito bhartṛśuśrūṣānam hi strīnām etat pitur anumatam kāryam ity ākalayya// tat kurvāṇābhajata vapuso bhartur ardham himādreh/kanyā sā me diśatu satatam dharmamārgapravṛttim //1// Sdhp.1v.2–4. The metre is *mandākrāntā*.

thing that gives a husband pleasure; that there are clear parallels both with the son's relationship with his mother, and with the 'service' offered by the student to his teacher; and thus that 'obedience' (*ājñakaranya*) is included in the more general term 'service' (*śuśrūṣā*; see section V, pp. 312–13). *Abhajata* is probably intended here as a pun, for  $\sqrt{bhaj}$  may have a variety of meanings: 'to obtain as one's share'; 'to serve, honour or devote oneself to'; and 'to take on the shape or form of'.

The reference to Pārvatī, one of the most popular examples of the devoted wife, recalls the story told to explain the *haritālikāvrata*. This 'vow' or religious observance, performed by women alone and especially popular in Māharashtra even today, involves the worship of coloured clay images of Pārvatī, her (female) friend, and the symbol of the god Śiva (the *śivalinga*). It is described only in the later medieval digests such as the *Vratarāja* of Viśvanātha, the *Nirṇayasindhu* of Kamalākarabhatta, and the *Vratārka* of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa Ghāre (PVK V.i.p.144–5). The story, said to have been narrated to Pārvatī by Śiva himself, recounts how by her own devotions Pārvatī both acquired Śiva as her husband (cf. Nagaswamy 1983:46–51) and attained the honour of becoming half of his body. This half-male, half-female form of Śiva (*ardhanārīśvara*) is graphically depicted in temple sculptures such as those in the Elephanta caves off Bombay (cf. Zimmer 1983:vol.II, plates 256,258;139). Similarly, in the *umāmaheśvarasamvāda* section of the *Mahābhārata*, Śiva reminds his wife that she is half of him, sprung from half his body.<sup>3</sup>

The image also reinforces the ideal oneness of the married human couple: husband and wife as complementary halves of one whole. This is a popular image. In the famous passage from the *Bṛhad-āraṇyakopaniṣad* (I.4.1–2), the primeval Self in the shape of a man (*puruṣavidhah*) longs for a second: he falls ( $\sqrt{pat}$ ) into two parts from which arise husband (*pati*) and wife (*patnī*). Hence their subsequent union is the reuniting of two halves. Similarly, in Sat.Br.V.2.1.10, the sacrificer includes his wife in the *vājapeya* ritual on the grounds that she is half of himself and he wishes to go to the 'supreme goal' complete. This much-extolled oneness does not, however, bear close examination. The Upaniṣadic Self, like Śiva, continues to identify

3. mama cārdham śarīrasya mama cārdhād vinihsrtā/ . . . tvam . . . // Mbh. XIII. 134.9a.

with his male half, pursuing the female in her various forms for the purpose of sexual intercourse. On the human level, the oneness of the married couple means not the merging of two individuals but the self-effacement of one of them. In the *Mahābhārata*, for example, Gāndhārī adopts not only her husband's lifestyle and interests, but his physical characteristics as well: she binds her eyes so as not to excel the blind Dhṛitarāṣṭra in any way (*Mbh.I.110.14*). As Tryambaka's treatise on women unfolds, it becomes increasingly clear that the ideal wife is one whose duties, purpose and identity derive entirely from her husband. In practical terms, as we shall see, this is what is meant by the oneness of marriage. For the goddess Pārvatī or the ideal woman such as Śakuntalā, the whole woman—as wife—becomes absorbed into half the man (*ardham bhāryā manusyasya*; *Mbh.I.68.40a*).

2. 'She who desired (only) to gain a husband's blessing long displayed the utmost devotion: (first,) because she wanted to show favour to the world; (secondly,) because it was advocated by sacred tradition; (thirdly,) because it was her father's command. (As a result,) she became one with the body of the Lord (Śiva) whose crest jewel is the crescent moon. May Satī, gem of chaste women, today grant me knowledge in the way of the sacred law!'<sup>4</sup>

Satī is the daughter of Dakṣa: that is, Pārvatī in a previous birth. When Dakṣa insulted Śiva by refusing to invite him to his great sacrifice, Satī immolated herself in the fire (*Bhāg.P.IV.2.1–IV.4.34*; *Śiv.P., satīkhaṇḍa*). Later, when the world was threatened by the demon Tāraka, it was prophesied that only the child of Śiva and Pārvatī could destroy him. So, 'in order to show favour to the world', Pārvatī set out to win Śiva: first by her beauty, and, when that failed, by her religious devotion. Eventually, Skanda was born and both gods and universe were saved (*Śiv.P., pārvatīkhaṇḍa*; *Sk.P., kāśīkhaṇḍa*; *Rām.I*; *Kumārasambhava*).

The importance of the son at this mythological level reinforces the orthodox view that the wife's main purpose is to be the bearer of a son for her husband's family. As Śakuntalā declares, a wife's 'wifedom' lies in the fact that a husband enters her and is reborn

4. *lokasyānujigr̥ksayā smṛtipurāṇoktyā pituś cājnayā/ śuśrūṣāṁ paramāṁ  
vidhāya sucirāṁ bhartuḥ prasādārthiniḥ// dehādvaitam avāpa yā bhagavatas  
candrārdgacūḍāmaneh/ dadyād adyu satī satījanamanīḥ sā dharmapadyā-  
matim//2// Sdhp.iv.4–6.* The metre is *sārdūlavikrīḍitam*.

from her.<sup>5</sup> Satī reincarnates as Pārvatī to give birth to Skanda. Whether for goddess or mortal, Manu's dictum holds: women were created to give birth (Manu IX.96). In so doing, they fit into the ordained scheme of things and thus 'show favour to the world'. In the *Śatapathabrahmaṇa* example quoted earlier, the sacrificer finds in this the logic behind the 'oneness' of the married couple: without a wife, a man cannot be reborn (*naiva . . . prajāyate*; meaning both 'to beget' and 'to become an embryo') and so remains incomplete (*asarva*); by taking a wife, he is reborn and so becomes complete (Sat.Br.V.2.1.10).

3. 'Those sacred laws which, when put into practice, bring women unparalleled fame, greater happiness in this world and the highest goal (in the next) are here described so that they may once more be thoroughly understood. At his mother's command (*jananī-nideśavacasā*), Tryambakayajvan has gathered together those sacred laws relating to women and now proclaims them one by one as they appear in the lawbooks, the *purāṇas* and so on.'<sup>6</sup>

After *mātr*, *jananī* is perhaps the commonest word for 'mother'. The invocations and references to Pārvatī may also suggest that Tryambaka is here (and in the final colophon; section V, p. 317, note 8) identifying his own mother with the mother of the universe. A third possibility is that the queen-mother (*rājajananī*) is meant. This meaning of *jananī* is attested by H.H. Wilson, presumably drawn from the examples provided to him by the pandits of Calcutta (MW 1976:411; xi). Certainly, Dīpāmbā, the mother of both Śāhaji and Serfoji (both of whom Tryambaka served as minister), was a powerful figure whose patronage of scholars is often cited. In particular, she is known to have commissioned Raghunātha Pandita to write two Marathi works on *strīdharma* at about this time: *Narakavarnana* and *Pativrata-dharma* (see my introduction, pp. 20–2).

4. 'I have gathered together some of these sacred laws relating to women, those which have generally come to be considered the

5. *bhāryām patih sampraviṣya sa yasmāj jāyate punah / jāyāyā iti jāyātvam purāṇah kavayo viduh* // Mbh.I.68.36.

6. *yeśām ācāraṇena kīrtir atulā bhūyah sukham caihikam/ nārīṇām gatir uttamā ca bhavati jñātum punah krtsnaśah // varnyante jananīnideśavacasā sangṛhya te yośitām / dharmāś tryambakayajvanā smṛtipurāṇādau prīthak kīrtitāḥ //3// Sdhp.lv.6–9. The metre is. sārdūlavikṛīḍitam.*

best and which are for the most part well known throughout sacred tradition. If virtuous women put them into practice, they will attain a good reputation, unequalled religious merit, immediate happiness in this world and heaven after death.<sup>7</sup>

Tryambaka begins his introduction proper by explaining why the rules for purification (*śaucācāra*) are examined first. 'For it is said that "if a man does not perform the rituals of purification, his actions will bear no fruit."<sup>8</sup> In order to achieve results in other spheres, therefore, one must perform these rituals. This is why the rules for purification are investigated first.<sup>9</sup>

It is not entirely clear which sense of *śauca* is intended here. In its wider sense, as defined by Hārīta, *śauca* is both external (*bāhya*) and internal (*āntara* or *ābhyantra*). External purification includes that of family (*kula*; due to a birth or death in the family), of objects (*artha*; such as the vessels and implements in use every day), and of the body (*śarīra*; in particular the cleansing of the body after urinating, etc.; see section II A, pp. 71–4. Internal purification includes that of the mind (*mānasa*), of the eye (*cākṣusa*; i.e. not looking at what should not be looked at), of the nose (*ghrāṇya*), of speech (*vācyā*), and of the tongue (*svādya*). In this all-embracing sense, therefore, *śauca* is the first path to *dharma*, the basis of *brahman*, the abode of prosperity, a soothing balm to the mind and so on.<sup>10</sup>

But this can hardly be what Tryambaka means. For the quotation he gives here reappears in his section on *śauca* in its narrower sense of the cleansing of the body after urinating and so on. Certainly, failure to follow the requirements laid down was deemed to

7. strīnām dharmāḥ katicana mayā prāyaśāḥ sūrabhūtāḥ / samgrhyante smṛtiṣu bahūśas tatra tatra prasiddhāḥ // kīrtih punyā sukr̥tam atulam saukhyam apy aihi kam drāk / pretya svargo bhavati yadanuṣṭhānabhājām satīnām //4// Sdhp.1v.9–2r.2. The metre is *mandākrāntā*.

8. tatra [/] śaucācāravihīnasya samastā nispalāḥ kriyāḥ / iti vacanāt // Sdhp.2r.2–3 ( Dakṣa V.2; Sm.C.II.p.249. For the complete śloka (attrib. there to Baudh.), see section II A, p.74, note 46.

9. itaradharmasāphalyasiddhyartham̄ śaucācārasyāvaśyakatvamxity ādav ācāro nirūpyate // Sdhp.2r.3–4.

10. śaucam̄ nāma dharmādipatho brahmāyatanaṁ śriyo 'dhivāso manasah prasādanam̄ devānām priyam kṣetradarśanam buddhiprabodhanam//Grha-stharatnākara, cited PVK II.i.p.651. Cf. Baudh.III.1.26; Dakṣa V.3.

have dire consequences. In Mbh.III.56.3, for example, evil and difficulty (in the form of *kali*) take possession of Nala precisely because he has failed to wash his feet after urinating. But if, as seems likely, this narrow meaning is intended, then Tryambaka is speaking somewhat loosely here: he does not in fact examine *śauca* before he has dealt with several other topics first. The principle, however, is clear.

Tryambaka's second point is that the rulings he is about to expound apply only to married women. He argues by analogy with the case for men. Three separate and unattributed quotations are produced to support his statement that 'religious law prescribes no rules for men until they have been invested with the sacred thread (lit. "until the binding on of the *muñja* grass").'<sup>11</sup>

First, 'they (the lawbooks or lawgivers) place no restrictions on one's actions until the investiture of the sacred thread (has taken place).'<sup>12</sup> In Baudh.I.2.3.6, the quotation is completed with the explanation that, until one is born again through the Veda (i.e. Vedic education), one is on the same level as the *sūdra*. Vas.II.6 quotes Hārīta to the same effect. Secondly, 'before initiation, they (i.e. children; in this context, boys) may do, say and eat what they please.'<sup>13</sup> This quotation from Gautama implies that uninitiated children are not expected to obey the rules of social behaviour or grammar, or the prohibitions on food and drink applicable to their elders (cf. Bāl. on Yājñ.I.15). According to the *Bālambhaṭṭī*, even if such a child touches a *candāla* or outcast, he need not take the ritual bath with his clothes on that is normally prescribed. However, Haradatta adds that such licence in fact applies only to very young children, those under five years of age, and not to the uninitiated in general who might (according to some authorities, including Gautama himself, e.g. II.1.6–15) remain so until the age of twenty-two. For the *Bālambhaṭṭī*, the crucial age is six.

11. *tatra puruṣānām ā maunjībandhanāt sāstreṇa niyamāḥ na viḍhiyante maunjībandhanaprabṛty eva niyamāḥ* // Sdhp.2r.4–5 (i.e. *sāstreṇa* for *dharma-sāstreṇa*).

12. *nāsyā karma niyacchanti kiṃcid ā maunjībandhanāt* // Sdhp.2r.5–6 < Baudh.I.2.3.6a. Cf. Vas.II.6; Manu II.171–2; Gaut.I.2.5–6, 10–11 (Ān.); Viś.Sm.XXVIII.40; Dakṣa I.3–4.

13. *prāg upanayanāt kāmacāraवादभक्षः* // Sdhp. 2r.6 < Gaut.I.2.1 (SS; Ān.: *prāg upanayanāt kāmacāraḥ kāmaवादः kāmabhak्षः*).

Thirdly, 'once the teacher has performed the initiation ceremony, he should first instruct his pupil in the rituals of purification, good conduct, the worship of the sacrificial fire, and the twilight rituals.'<sup>14</sup>

'In the case of women, however,' Tryambaka continues, 'marriage has taken the place of initiation.'<sup>15</sup> Or, as the quotation from Manu puts it, 'for women, the marriage ritual is held to be the equivalent of initiation, serving one's husband that of residing in the teacher's house, and household duties that of the worship of the sacrificial fire.'<sup>16</sup> It thus follows that, 'before marriage, women too are free to do, say and eat what they please; for the rules apply only after marriage.'<sup>17</sup> We may safely assume here that Haradatta's restriction of the rule to the very young would apply to women too. For, although Gautama advises men to marry their daughters off before puberty, he also rules that an unmarried girl who has had three menstrual periods may find her own husband. Thus, in Gautama's time at least, a girl might still be unmarried in her early teens (Gaut. II.9.20–1). The *Bālambhaṭṭī* merely adds that the licence given to the uninitiated boy is applied also to a girl, as long as she remains unmarried (with the implication that she would be married by the age of six). Since Tryambaka is concerned only with married women, he does not himself examine the question of exactly when a girl should marry. However, judging by the sternness of his remarks concerning the sanctity of a woman's *ṛtu* or 'season' (see section IV, pp. 287–8), we may assume that he favours pre-pubertal marriage for girls. Here, he concludes simply that 'the sacred duties he is about to expound are therefore to be performed by women only after they are married.'<sup>18</sup>

14. *upanīya gurūḥ śisyam śikṣayec chaucam āditah/ācāram agnikāryum ca sanḍhyopāsanam eva ca/ ity ādi vacanāt/; Sdhp.2r.6–7 < Manu I.69. Cf. Śāṅkh.3.1; Yājñ.I.15.*

15. *strīnān tu . . . upanayanasthānāpanno vivāha iti // Sdhp.2r.8–9. Cf. Mit. on Yājñ.I.15.*

16. *vaivāhiko vidhiḥ strīnām aupanāyanikah smṛtaḥ / patisevā gurau vāso gr̥hārtha 'gniparikriyā// iti manuvacanena /; Sdhp.2r.8–9 (Manu) < Manu II.67 (with *aupanāyanikah* from II.68 substituted for *samskāro vaidikah*, 'the Vedic sacrament').*

17. *vivāhat pūrvam kāmacāravādabhakṣanam // vivāhanantaram eva niyamānuṣṭānam // Sdhp.2r.9–10.*

18. *ato vaksyamāṇadharmaḥ vivāhaprabhrty eva tābhīr anuṣṭheyāḥ // Sdhp.2r.10–2v.1.*

There is a curious contradiction here. Before initiation, a child is considered—for ritual if not social purposes—to be equivalent to a *śūdra* (see Baudh.I.2.3.6; Vas.II.6). Since, as Manu and Tryambaka explain, the marriage ceremony is to be taken as the girl's initiation, she too is ritually equivalent to a *śūdra* before her marriage. The implication is obvious: a boy after his initiation and a girl after marriage are no longer held to be at the level of the *śūdra*. Tryambaka then explains that all the sacred duties he is about to describe apply to married women. But the next two quotations he cites (one on *śauca*, the other on *ācamana*) explicitly equate the (married) woman and the *śūdra*. This means that women are ritual *śūdras* both before and after marriage; the only difference is that they may follow their own whims before they marry, their husbands' afterwards.

But this is in origin a historical rather than a philosophical problem (see Leslie 1980:15ff.; 1983(1):99–100). In the Vedic era, the period of study and *brahmacarya* discipline was deemed essential for girls as well as boys.<sup>19</sup> The reason is important: the *upanayana* of women was vital to the continuation of the *varṇa* system. Without it, all women would be reduced to the level of the *śūdra* and, as Hārīta explains, *śūdras* cannot give birth to brahmins, *ksatriyas* or *vaiśyas*.<sup>20</sup> Although the actual practice of female students probably came to differ from that of males, the fact of initiation remained. Yama, for example, while agreeing that *upanayana*, Vedic education and the recitation of mantras should be open to girls, advocates that they should be taught only by their fathers, uncles and brothers; that they should not beg from door to door but only from their own homes; that they should not wear deerskins or grow matted hair.<sup>21</sup>

As language and culture developed away from those of Vedic texts, more extensive commentaries became necessary, and increasingly long periods of study were required to understand the

19. *brahmacaryena kanyā yuvānam vindate patim / A.V.XI.5.18a. Cf. A.V.III.8.11–15; Śat.Br.I.2.14.13, I.1.12–13; Tait.Br.III.3.3.2–3.*

20. *na hi śūdrayonau brāhmaṇaḥ ksatriya vā vaiśya jāyante // Hārīta XXI.20, cited Par.M.I.ii.p.48.*

21. *adhyayanam ca vedānām sāvitrīvacanam tathā / pitā pitṛyo bhrātā vā nainām adhyāyat parah // svagrhe caiva kanyāyā bhaiksacaryā vidhīyate / varjayed ajinām cīram jaṭadhāraṇam eva ca // Vir.S.p. 402 (Yama).*

accumulating literature. But whereas it was acceptable for boys to postpone marriage until their twenties or thirties, it was still thought essential for girls to marry in their teens. The effect was to divide women into two kinds: the *brahmavādīnī* (lit. 'one who discusses *brahman*'), who was initiated in the lighting of the sacred fire, the reading of Vedic texts, and begging in her own home; and the *sadyovadhū* (lit. 'one who becomes a bride on the same day, i.e. as her initiation') for whom the ceremony was a mere formality just before her marriage.<sup>22</sup> By the time of Hārita (approximately 500 B.C.), the majority of girls fell into the latter category. The lack of Vedic training for girls made nonsense of their use of mantras, so it is no surprise that by the time of Manu (i.e. at the turn of the era), the initiation of girls was performed without them (cf. Manu II.66, IX.18). By the time of Yājñavalkya (i.e. the first or second century of the Christian era), the *upanayana* of girls was prohibited altogether (cf. Yājñ.I.13). At some point during this transition—in order to justify the marriage of uninitiated girls to twice-born men and thus to rescue the entire *varṇa* system—there arose the compensatory theory that the marriage ritual took the place of initiation for girls. This in turn lent weight to the idea that girls should be married at a very early age. For it was felt that the girl's 'initiation' (i.e. marriage) should take place at the same age as that appropriate for the boy's *upanayana*.

It is often argued that this trend was based on the belief that the increasingly long period of study was vital because even the smallest mistake in ritual or recitation could have disastrous results (e.g. *Pāṇiniśikṣā* 52, cited Altekar 1978:201–2). Although there is undoubtedly some truth in this, the argument is not wholly convincing. First, women are not the only ones liable to make mistakes. Now as always, men make mistakes all the time. In fact, after each undertaking, a final ritual is performed that is specifically designed to remove the sin of any mistakes made in the process. There are also special *prāyaścitta* rituals to cope with the problem. Secondly, according to *mīmāṃsā* philosophy, an injunction or prohibition is weakened if it is thought necessary to shore it up with experiential

22. *brahmavādinīnām agnīndhanam vedādhyayanam svagrhe ca bhaikṣacareti / sadyovadhūnām tūpasthite vivāhe kathamcid upanayanamātram kṛtvā vivāhah kāryah / purākalpe tu nārīnām maunjībandhanam isyate // Vir. S., p.402 (Hārita).*

reasons. *Adr̥ṣṭa* rulings are always more cogent than *dr̥ṣṭa* ones (see my discussion of these terms in section II A, p. 58 below). Thus to say that Vedic initiation and education are barred to women because they are more liable to make mistakes is to weaken the validity of the prohibition; no reason need or indeed should be given.

In time, the argument turned full circle. Instead of the absence of *upanayana* having as its consequence the status of *sūdra*, the *a priori* *sūdra* status of women came to be seen as the reason for their ineligibility in the first place. Now commentators had to work hard to explain away the all too obvious references to the *upanayana* of girls in earlier texts. On Gobh.gr.II.1.19, for example, the commentator explains that the term *yajñopavītī* cannot mean literally 'she who wears the sacred thread' since women may not do so; it must therefore refer to a bride who wears her sari draped over her left shoulder 'like' a sacred thread. On the same grounds, Śankara interprets the reference to a 'learned (*panditā*) daughter' in Br.Up.VI.4.17 as a reference to domestic learning and expertise (*grhatantravīśayam*). When Manu declares that no sacred rite may be performed with mantras for women, his first reason is that they are 'weak' and 'impure'; his second that they are ignorant of Vedic literature (Manu IX.18; Baudh.I.11.7; Mbh.XIII.40.11–12). *Sūdra* status is now associated directly with the female state and only indirectly with the lack of *upanayana* and Vedic education.

Tryambaka evidently has a problem. In order to persuade women of the religious significance of their role, he expounds the view that the marriage ritual is their initiation onto the religious path. But as his treatise continues, we meet again and again the conviction that even married (i.e. 'initiated') women are ritually equivalent to the uninitiated *sūdra*. Tryambaka uses the first view to inspire women to take their domestic existence seriously, to elevate it to the level of religious ritual, and to discourage them from wasting their devotional energy on other (i.e. non-domestic) forms of worship. He uses the second view to remind women that being female is an awesome hurdle they must strive to overcome. The rulings on daily duties (*strīnām āhnikam*; see section II, pp. 44–245) follow from the first; the digression on the inherent nature of women (*strīsvabhāvah*; see section III) from the second.

The problem of how ritual *sūdras* can give birth to brahmins, *ksatriyas* and *vaiśyas*—voiced above by Hārīta—remains. The

solution is presumably to be found in the discussions concerning the various ways in which *varṇa* may fluctuate. A child's *varṇa* is defined by the 'seed' (*bija*) from which it sprang; and not from the 'field' (*kṣetra*) in which that seed was planted (Manu X.70-2; cf. section V.9.c). Thus a *sūdra* womb that receives brahmin 'seed' produces a brahmin child. A man's *varṇa* may be changed by his own conduct. Thus Viśvāmitra, who was born a *kṣatriya*, becomes a brahmin through *tapas* (austerities; cf. Manu X.42, Kull.). A woman's *varṇa*, on the other hand, is defined by that of her husband: whatever her father's birth or her own behaviour, she assumes in the 'oneness' of marriage both the qualities and the status of her husband, merging with him as a river merges with the sea (cf. Manu IX.22-4; X.67).

Tryambaka's third introductory point is that 'the general rules (*sāmānyadharmaḥ*) prescribed for men are equally applicable to women.'<sup>23</sup> By this, Tryambaka does not mean *sanātanadharmaḥ*, the code of universal values such as non-injury, purity, truth and good will (cf. Kauṭ.I.3.13; Vām.P.14.1; Āp.I.8.23.6; etc.). The reference here is to non-specific rules of conduct.

Tryambaka's argument runs as follows. 'Injunctions relating specifically to women presuppose the widespread acceptance of general rulings (of which these specific ones are the modifications).'<sup>24</sup> He gives two examples. First, 'the wise declare that the purification ritual required of a woman and a *sūdra* is half (that prescribed for a twice-born man).'<sup>25</sup> This statement clearly presupposes some general ruling (such as Manu V. 136) to the effect that (i.e. after urinating and defecating) one should purify the sexual organ, the anus, the left hand, and then both hands, by applying earth and water one, three, ten and seven times respectively. Manu V.137 gives the modifying rule for Vedic students, forest hermits and ascetics. Tryambaka's example gives that for women and *sūdras*. Secondly, 'both a woman and a *sūdra* are purified by touching

23. *tatra puruṣasyoktāḥ sāmānyadharmaḥ strīnām api sādhāraṇā eva // Sdhp.2v.1-2.*

24. *tatra tatra sāmānyadharmaṁ siddhavat kṛtya . . . ity ādinā strīnām viśeṣavidhānāt // Sdhp.2v.2-4.*

25. *strīsūdrayor ardhamānam śaucam proktam manisibhiḥ // Sdhp.2v.2-3 (Sm.C.II.p.248 (Ādit.P.); Par.M.I.p.230. Cf. section II A, p.73, note 44.*

(water) once on (or in) the mouth.'<sup>26</sup> This ruling on ācamana, the ritual of sipping water, again presupposes some general statement (such as Manu V.139a) to the effect that he who desires to be pure should sip water three times. Yājñ.I.21a gives the modifying rule for twice-born men; Yājñ.I.21b (Tryambaka's example) gives that for women and śūdras.

Tryambaka concludes from this that 'rulings such as "he who, rising early, sees . . ."',<sup>27</sup> which prescribe duties for men (in the technical sense that they are couched in the masculine form without any additional modifying rules) are in fact equally applicable to women.<sup>28</sup> This is an important point for Tryambaka's treatise, especially in his long section on daily rites or duties (*strīnām āhnikam*, section II, pp. 44–245). For, in the absence of rulings specific to women on subjects such as what should or should not be seen in the early morning (*darśanīyāny adarśanīyāni ca*; section IIA, (pp. 54–7), urinating and defecating (*mūtrapurīṣotsargah*; pp. 69–71), or cleaning one's teeth (*dantadhāvanam*, pp. 78–82). Tryambaka is obliged to quote passages couched in the masculine and assume that they apply to women too.

But what appears, in this context, to be no more than a straightforward grammatical point is in fact an extremely significant issue in the history of the religious status of women in India. First, let us look at the question from the grammarian's point of view. Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* (one of the most important works on Sanskrit grammar, dating from c.140 B.C.) declares that there are five reasons to study the science of grammar: for the preservation of the Veda; for the understanding of the rules of modification or *ūha*; for the

26. *śuddhyeran strī ca śūdraś ca sakṛt sprṣṭābhir antataḥ* // Sdhp.2v.3 (Yājñ.I.21b. For the full *śloka*, see section IIA, note 49. The quotation is ungrammatical without the previous line: *hṛtkan̄thatālughābhis tu yathāsamkhyam dvijātayah*. Following Yājñ. and PT, I have restored *śuddhyeran* (for *śuddheran*; plural to include *dvijātayah*) and *sprṣṭābhir* (for *sprṣṭvābhir*; agreeing with *adbhir*, Yājñ.I.20b). *Sakṛt*, 'once', as opposed 'to three times as is the case for twice-born men. *Antataḥ* is glossed either as *antena*, 'at the extremity (i.e. of mouth or lips)'; or as *antargatena*, 'inside (i.e. the mouth)'; cf. section IIA, pp. 75–7.

27. *prātar utthāya yah paśyet . . .* // Sdhp.2v.4 (e.g. the beginning of Gobh.Sm.II.163,165, see p. 55, notes 8,9.

28. *evam ca . . . ity ādinā puruṣasyoktā dharmāḥ strīnām api sādhāranā eva* // Sdhp.2v.4–5 (i.e. *dharmāḥ* for *sāmānyadharmāḥ*). Cf. note 23.

sake of scripture or tradition; to make one's studies easier; and to remove doubt (*rakṣohāgamalaghvasamdehāḥ*; Pat.I.8). On the subject of *ūha*, Pat.I.9 explains that mantras are not stated in the Veda in all genders, cases and so on. For the preservation of the true meaning of the Veda, therefore, the study of the rules of *ūha* is essential if one is to make the required modifications to the sacrifice. By the seventeenth century, however, Nāgeśa's commentary interprets *liṅga* to mean not 'gender' as it clearly does in the original passage but 'the stem (of a noun)' which is only a very late sense of the term. This is evidence of a marked change of opinion between earlier writers on grammar who accepted the *ūha* of gender and later ones who redefined the term to exclude gender altogether. The effect of this denial of the *ūha* of gender on the woman's role in religious ritual is obvious: the majority of injunctions are in the masculine; the modification is not invoked; women are excluded.

Now let us look at this question in the specific context of a woman's right to sacrifice as discussed in the literature of the *pūrvamīmāṃsā* school. The earliest work of the school is the *Jaiminīyasūtra*, written perhaps in the second century B.C.. The earliest commentary on Jaimini available to us is the *Śabarabhāṣya*, written in the fifth or sixth century A.D. Śabara himself is commented on by three different schools—founded by Kumārilabhaṭṭa, (Guru) Prabhākara, and Murārimiśra respectively—all of whom probably wrote in the seventh century. The overall aim of the *pūrvamīmāṃsā* school was to protect the Veda from the onslaught of Buddhism and other heterodox systems by means of a detailed investigation of *dharma* as enjoined in Vedic texts. Jai.VI deals specifically with the qualifications necessary for a performer of the sacrifice. In doing so, it considers in particular the two classes of people that came to be excluded from such performance: *sūdras* and women.

On the former issue, Jai.VI.1.25–38 declares that since the *agnihotra* and other such sacrifices are mentioned in the Veda only with reference to the three higher castes, the *sūdra* is not entitled to perform sacrifices at all. Similarly, the Vedic texts regarding initiation do not include the *sūdra*, and anyone not initiated into Vedic study is *a priori* unfit to perform sacrifices. Furthermore, these conclusions are endorsed by Śabara and his commentators.

The case for women is somewhat different. There is no suggestion that women are to be excluded from initiation or Vedic study:

unlike the *sūdra*, therefore, they are not *a priori* unfit to perform sacrifices. However, ritual injunctions are invariably made in the masculine form. One question remains. Is this masculine form to be taken as a superordinate (meaning 'person', 'human' etc.) or as a hyponym (meaning 'male' as opposed to 'female')? Jai.VI.1.6–20 deals with this very point. The question is raised in connection with the classic injunction *svargakāmo yajeta* ('he who desires heaven should perform sacrifices'). The *pūrvapakṣa* or *prima facie* view states that since *svargukāmo* is in the masculine, the injunction applies only to men (*lingavisesanirdeśat pumyuktam*; Jai.VI.1.6). Jaimini, however, insists that the masculine is intended here in its superordinate sense, applying to the class or genus (*jāti*) without distinction (*avisēśat*), always of course excepting the *sūdra*. Thus women are also entitled to perform sacrifices (Jai.VI.1.8).

Let us take a closer look at the views of Jaimini's opponents. They base their exclusion of women from sacrifice on two grounds: first, on the denial of the *ūha* of gender; secondly, on the assertion that the performer of sacrifice must possess property which, according to them, a woman is unable to do. The latter point is supported by statements (e.g. Manu VIII. 416; see p. 277, note 10) that a woman cannot possess anything because what is hers belongs to her husband or father (cf. Tryambaka's comments on this topic in section IV, pp. 277–80 below). Moreover, she herself belongs to husband or father and is thus 'on the same level as property' (*strīnām dravyaiḥ samānayogitvāt*: Jai.VI.1.10). Here Vedic texts are quoted describing the 'selling' of a woman by her father to her husband (presumably in the *ārṣa* form of marriage according to which the groom presents the bride's father with a cow and a bull; cf. PVK II.i.516–26; Menski 1984: § 2.5.5.). For the exponents of this view, therefore, religious capacity depends on social position, specifically on the possession of wealth which is denied to women (Jai.VI.1.10–12).

For Jaimini, however, social position is subordinated to religious aspiration which, he claims, is as strong in a woman as in a man (*phalotsāhāviśeśat*; Jai.VI.1.13). His argument runs as follows. First, the crucial text must be interpreted according to the *ūha* of gender to read: 'If a woman truly desires heaven then she too should sacrifice.' She should therefore proceed to acquire the necessary wealth (e.g. by spinning, cooking, etc., or by means of property received at marriage; cf. pp.277–80) in order to perform the sacrifice

(Śab.VI.1.13). Secondly, since this injunction is from the Veda (which for the *pūrvamīmāṃsaka* is *śruti*; i.e. uncreated and eternally valid), it automatically overrules any *smṛti* statement to the contrary (such as Manu VIII.416 cited above). Thirdly, statements to the effect that a woman owns no property, being non-injunctive, are mere *arthavāda* (i.e. exaggerated descriptions): they should therefore be interpreted in the more liberal, non-literal sense that a woman should not behave as if she were independent of her husband. If they were meant to be taken literally, then they would contradict the equally valid Vedic text declaring that the wife is mistress of the household property (Jai.VI.1.16; Śab.). Finally, Jaimini argues that marriage is a purely religious function and so cannot be considered a sale in the ordinary sense of the word. This, he claims, is shown by the fact that normally the price of an object fluctuates according to the value of that object, whereas the formal gift from husband to father (i.e. in the *ārsa* form of marriage) remains the same regardless of the 'quality' of the bride (Jai.VI.1.15–19).

In the *pūrvamīmāṃsā* texts, such arguments win the day. For our purposes, however, the arguments of the *pūrvapakṣin* are of greater interest. For they provide the basis for the swing away from the religious freedom of women. In particular, the *ūha* of gender is increasingly ignored and ritual texts are more often taken to apply only to men. In all kinds of ritual contexts, the male is invariably taken as the paradigm. When meditations are given on the body or when directions are given for ritual ablutions (e.g. in the *Jayākhyasamhitā*), it is always the male body that is described. In theory, a woman can invoke the *ūha* of gender; in practice, it is assumed that ritual information is really intended for the male.

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that by the eighteenth century, orthodox religion excludes women from virtually all ritual activities. What is interesting is that Tryambaka feels free to invoke the *ūha* of gender when it suits him to do so without any fear of the logical consequences. Presumably by the time he was writing, the issue debated with such feeling by Jaimini and Śabara had been forgotten. The question of whether the *ūha* of gender might be invoked in ritual contexts is now too ludicrous to be considered. In his detailed analysis of the daily duties implied by a woman's religious role (*strīnām āhnikam*; see, pp. 44–245), and in the brief section on things to be avoided (*varjanīyāḥ*; see section IV, pp. 274–6), Tryambaka leaves no room for doubt.

## II. The Daily Duties of Women

(*strīñām āhnikam*; Sdhp. 2v. 5–21r.3)

'Now the daily duties of women are examined.'<sup>1</sup>

The daily practice of the orthodox Hindu householder (male) is an important topic of *dharmaśāstra*, described in detail in numerous *smṛtis*, *purāṇas* and digests (e.g. Gaut.I.5, I.9; Āp.II.1.1–II.4.9; Yājñ.I.96–127; Mārk.P.29–30,34; Kūrm.P.II.18–19; Sm.C.I.p.88–232; Sm.A. p.18–48; etc.). For of all the *āśramas*—Vedic student (*brahmacarya*), householder (*grhaṣṭha*), forest hermit (*vānaprastha*), and renouncer or ascetic (*sannyāsin*, *yati*, etc.)—that of householder is repeatedly described as the best.

The *āśrama* theory, examined in detail by Olivelle (1974; 1978; 1984), involves a gradual progression through three main stages of development. In the first, only the householder state receives wholehearted recommendation. The second encourages the notion of a choice between four separate and permanent states (*vikalpa*, 'alternative'). The third regards the four *āśramas* as a continuous series of temporary states (*samuccaya*, 'together'; i.e. in sequence in one lifetime). In all three versions of the theory, however, the householder state is held to be the best.

The earliest exposition of the *āśrama* theory is presented by Gautama and Baudhāyana. (For an analysis of the corrupt text into 'Proto-' and 'Deutero-Baudhāyana', see Olivelle 1984.) Gautama notes the idea of a choice in the form of a *pūrvapakṣa* (*āśramavikalpam*; Gaut.I.3.1–2), without approval. For, in Gautama's view, the householder is quite literally the source (*yoni*) of the other three: only he produces children (*aprajanatvād itareṣām*, Gaut.I.3.3; cf. Rāgh. on Manu VI.87; Baudh.II.6.11.27). Moreover, the order of householder is the one explicitly enjoined (*pratyaksavidhānād*; Gaut.I.4.35) in all the Vedas, *dharmaśāstras*, *itihāsas* and *purāṇas* (Har. on Gaut.I.4.35). Baudhāyana even denies that there is a choice. The notion of four alternative paths is dismissed as a misunderstanding (Baudh.II.6.11.9) or the invention of a demon (Baudh.II.6.11.28). Baudhāyana stresses the importance of family

1. *tatra strīñām āhnikam nirūpyate // Sdhp.2v.5.*

life; the payment of the three debts (to the seers by study, to the gods by sacrifice, to the ancestors by sons); and thus the urgent need to produce children (Baudh.II.6.11.33–4).

The next stage in the development of the *āśrama* theory is shown in the views of Āpastamba and Vasiṣṭha. The four orders are now seen to be equally valid in the sense that one may attain liberation through any one of them (Āp.II.9.21.1–2), but they are still mutually exclusive and permanent. (It is important to distinguish here between studentship as a temporary first stage and perpetual studentship as a permanent state of celibacy; cf. Olivelle 1984:85.) Nonetheless, Āpastamba devotes a large number of *sūtras* to proving that the householder state is superior to any of the celibate alternatives (Āp.II.9.23.3 ff.).

The third stage may be found in Manu, Yājñavalkya and the later *smṛtis*. The *āśramas* are now no longer alternative states but successive stages, each leading to the next in a steady progression towards liberation (Manu IV.1, VI.33). But still the householder stage is best (Manu III.77–8, VI.89–90). This remarkably persistent eulogy of the householder underlines the fact that all *dharmaśāstrins* are, of course, householders themselves.

In order to fulfil his significant part in the scheme of things, the householder must observe a clearly defined timetable of ritual and quasi-ritual activities, all included under the general heading of *grhasthadharma*, the ordained rites and duties of the householder.

The day is sometimes divided into two (*pūrvāhna*, 'before noon', and *aparāhna*, 'afternoon'); or three (*prātaḥsavana*, 'morning', *mādhyandinasavana*, 'midday', and *trīyasavana*, 'evening', corresponding to the three pressings of *soma*); or five (*prātaḥ* or *udaya*, 'dawn', *samgava*, 'morning', i.e. when the cows are collected for milking, *mādhyandina* or *madhyāhna*, 'midday', *aparāhna*, 'afternoon', and *sāyam*, *sāyāhna* or *astagamana*, 'evening'). Most commonly, however, the division is into four parts (*pūrvāhna*, *madhyāhna*, *aparāhna*, *sāyāhna*), further subdivided into eight: that is, sixteen divisions covering the twenty-four hours of day and night (e.g. Dakṣa II.4–5; Kaut.I.19; Kāty. quoted by Apar. on Yājñ.II.1; and even Vidyārṇava's twentieth-century presentation of the *āhnika* rules, 1979:1). The normal unit of calculation is thus one and a half hours.

With regard to the different *varnas*, no specific *āhnika* rules are laid down for the *vaiśya* or *śūdra*. These men would presumably

adjust the *āhnika* rules prescribed for brahmin householders to suit themselves. The *āhnika* rules for a king are given in detail in Kaut. I.19 (cf. also Manu VII. 145–7, 151–4, 216–26; Yājñ.I.327–33). In the first part of the day (6.00–7.30 a.m.), the king should attend to matters of defence, income and expenditure; in the second (7.30–9.00 a.m.), he should consider the affairs of the people; in the third (9.00–10.30 a.m.), he should bathe, eat and study the Veda; in the fourth (10.30–12.00 noon), he should receive revenue and assign tasks; in the fifth (12.00–1.30 p.m.), he should consult his ministers and consider the secret information brought by spies; in the sixth (1.30–3.00 p.m.), he may amuse himself; in the seventh (3.00–4.30 p.m.), he should review his army; in the eighth (4.30–6.00 p.m.), he should confer with his commander-in-chief. At the end of the day, he should perform the evening *samdhyā* (V.9–17). In the first part of the night (6.00–7.30 p.m.), he should consult his secret agents; in the second (7.30–9.00 p.m.), he should bathe, eat and study; in the third (9.00–10.30 p.m.), he should enter his bedchamber; in the fourth and fifth (10.30 p.m.–1.30 a.m.), he should sleep; in the sixth (1.30–3.00 a.m.), he should wake and contemplate the *sāstra* (i.e. of politics) and the duties of the coming day; in the seventh (3.00–4.30 a.m.), he should meet with his councillors and send out secret agents; and in the eighth (4.30–6.00 a.m.), he should receive blessings from his priests, see his doctor, chief cook and astrologer, perform the appropriate rituals, and go to court (v.18–24). Alternatively, as Kautilya adds (thereby undermining the entire system), the king may divide his days and nights as he needs (v.25).

Although Tryambaka probably intended his treatise for the edification of the women at court (who were presumably of largely *ksatriya* families), the *āhnika* rules it prescribes for women have little in common with the rulings given above for their king. It is thus more appropriate to compare Tryambaka's rulings for women with those prescribed for brahmin householders.

Dakṣa, for example, also divides the day into eight parts (II.4–5). For practical purposes, the day's timetable begins in the last division of the night (i.e. 4.30–6.00 a.m.) when a man should wake, perform the necessary ablutions and the *ācamana* ritual, clean his teeth, bathe, and observe the twilight rituals (*samdhyā*). In the first division of the day (6.00–7.30 a.m.), he should worship his special deity and pay homage to his teacher. In the second (7.30–9.00 a.m.), he should study the Veda. In the third (9.00–10.30 a.m.), he should work for the maintenance of his family, following only

those professions permitted to his *varṇa*. In the fourth (10.30–12.00 noon), he should bathe and perform the midday *samdhyā*. In the fifth (12.00–1.30 p.m.), he should perform the five great sacrifices (*pañca mahāyajñāḥ*): to *brahman* (*brahmajyajña*, by the study or recitation of the Veda), to the gods (*devayajña*, by ritual offerings into the fire), to the ancestors (*pitṛyajña*, by the ritual of *tarpana*), to all beings (*bhūtayajña*, by *bali* offerings), and to men (*manusyajña*, by offering hospitality to guests). These five observances absolve the householder of the five types of sin committed every day in the home (cf. Manu III.68–71; Viṣ.Sm.59.19–20 etc.). In the fifth part of the day, the householder should also take his main (midday) meal. In the sixth and seventh (1.30–4.30 p.m.), he should study secular literature (epics, *purāṇa* and so on). In the eighth (4.30–6.00 p.m.), he may receive or visit friends and perform the evening *samdhyā* rituals. From 6.00 p.m. until 9.00 p.m., he should attend to the duties omitted during the day and spend time with his family. From 9.00 p.m. until 4.30 a.m., he may take rest (Dakṣa II; Vidyārnava 1979:1–2).

Let us compare these typical basic divisions with the daily timetable prescribed for women by Tryambaka. The first point to notice is that Tryambaka divides the night (and presumably the day as well) into six parts instead of the usual eight (Sdhp.2v.8). This ruling is not specific to women, for the quotation cited is addressed to the householder ‘together with his wife’ (*patnyā saha*). For Tryambaka then, the unit of calculation is two hours instead of one and a half. However, since Tryambaka rarely specifies the exact times or periods during which a particular duty should be performed, Figure 6 contains a rough timetable demonstrating the parallels between a woman’s day as he describes it and that of a (brahmin) man as described in *smṛti* literature in general.

A large proportion of the *āhnika* rulings cover activities to be carried out in the last division of night. In addition to most of the duties prescribed for men, a woman must also prepare the day’s quota of rice or millet, sweep the house and smear it with cow-dung, perform the ritual of threshold worship, and attend to the cows. When her husband performs the morning fire sacrifice, she assists him. At dawn, she makes an offering to the sun. In the morning, while her husband studies the Veda and works at his profession, she attends to her household duties. At midday, when he performs the five great sacrifices, she assists him. When he eats, she serves him, eating what he leaves. After the meal, while he studies the

*Topics discussed in relation to women*      *Equivalent topics for men*

*Before dawn*

1. waking	waking
2. housework (grinding grain etc.)	
3. ablutions	ablutions

*At dawn*

1. fire worship	fire sacrifice
2. offering water to the sun	<i>sam̄dhyā</i> ritual worship of special deity

*Topics discussed in relation to women*

*Equivalent topics for men*

*Day*

1. paying respect to elders	homage to teacher
2. housework	Vedic study
3. midday rituals: <i>devapūjā</i> <i>vaiśvadevapūjā</i> <i>atithipūjā</i>	work for maintenance of family bath and <i>sam̄dhyā</i> <i>pañca mahāyajñāḥ</i> (i.e. Vedic recitation to <i>brahman</i> ; sacrifice to the gods; <i>tarpana</i> for the ancestors; <i>bali</i> offerings for all beings; <i>atithipūjā</i> ) midday meal
4. meal time duties: serving at meals, <i>bali</i> offering, clearing away, housework, etc.	study of epics, <i>purāṇa</i> , visiting friends, etc.

*Evening*

1. fire worship, etc.	evening <i>sam̄dhyā</i>
2. going to bed and intercourse	

Figure 6. Parallel timetable for women and men

epics and *purāṇas*, she clears away the meal, washes, sweeps and cleans. In the evening, while he is visiting friends, she is still doing housework, for the food for the evening meal must be prepared afresh. At the evening sacrifice, she assists him again. Her final *āhnika* duties concern going to bed and sexual intercourse. Several of these duties are beautifully illustrated in two palm-leaf manuscripts in the British Library collection: milking the cows, cooking, serving food to her husband, tending her children, nursing an infant, massaging her husband's feet as he lies in bed, eating the

remains of his meal, and a variety of postures for sexual intercourse (British Library: OR. 11689, OR. 11612; see plates 1–13, cf. Losty 1980: 14–45; cf. Gaur 1980:23–5). The paintings depicting children and the wife's involvement with them (e.g. plates 10, 11) draw our attention to a curious omission in the *Strīdharmapaddhati*: while Tryambaka assumes that the good wife will produce sons, he not only shows no further interest in them, but makes no allowance for them in her day.

Tryambaka also specifies no time when a woman may simply rest. Indeed, he lists 'sleeping in the daytime' among the six things that corrupt women and which they should therefore avoid (see section IV, p. 275, note 6). Since it is assumed that a woman has no education, it is less surprising that she is not advised to study. Judging by Tryambaka's prohibitions on 'roaming around' and spending time in other people's homes (section IV, p. 275, note 6), we would not expect her to be allowed to visit friends, certainly not on her own. Taken at face value, then, a woman should always be busy about her work. The traditional pattern of an Indian day, however, suggests that the hot period after the midday meal might well be given to rest. It is at this time that women might be encouraged to listen to readings from the epics or *purāṇas*, or even from a work such as the *Strīdharmapaddhati* (Introduction, pp. 22–3 and 232–3).

Before embarking on a discussion of each ruling, it may be instructive to consider at the outset what types of rulings these may be. The crucial question is how each ruling relates to its equivalent for men. The answer takes the form of four quite distinct categories.

First, there are those rulings which, according to Tryambaka, are exactly the same for women as for men. These include the rulings concerning what one may or may not see first thing in the morning (*darśanīyāny adarśanīyāni ca*; section IIA, pp.54–7), urinating and defecating (*mūtrapūriṣotsargah*, section IIA, pp. 69–71), and cleaning the teeth (*dantadhāvanam*; section IIA, pp.78–82). This group of rulings clearly requires the operation of the *ūha* of gender (see section I, pp. 40–3).

Secondly, there are those rulings which are the same in principle for women as for men, but different in detail. For example, the rules on purification (*śaucam*) are applicable to men and women except that for women the colour of the earth used and the number of lumps required is different (section IIA, pp. 71–2). The rules

concerning sipping (*ācamanam*) and bathing (*snānam*) also fall into this category. When a twice-born man sips, the water must touch his heart, throat or palate; when a woman sips, it need only touch her mouth (section IIA, pp. 75–7). A man performs his ritual bath with mantras, a woman without (section IIA, p. 83). Generally speaking, however, both rituals are applicable to women as well as men. Similarly, both men and women must wake early, but the wife should wake before her husband (section IIA, p. 52). Both must eat but the wife should serve her husband and eat only what he leaves (section IIC, pp. 221–7). This is a large group of rulings and the implications are interesting. I shall deal with each in its place.

The third category, a very important one, consists of those rulings in which the wife assists her husband in his ritual obligations (*pativratabhāgīnī*). In the early morning meditation (*devatādhyānam*), for example, the man must meditate 'with his wife' (section IIA, pp. 52–4). In the fire sacrifice (*agniśuśrūṣā*), although the wife has little to do, she must be present for the ritual to bear fruit (section IIB, pp. 132–41). In the ceremony of paying homage and hospitality to guests (*atithipūjā*), the wife must prepare the food and serve the guest on her husband's behalf (section IIC, pp. 210–14). These rulings indicate the role and status of the wife in the joint ritual duties enjoined upon the married couple. I shall deal with this in some detail in the section on serving the sacred fire (*agniśuśrūṣā*) (section IIB, pp. 107–15).

Finally, there are the duties peculiar to women. These are predominantly rulings concerning housework, such as grinding grain (section IIA, pp. 58–9), cleaning the house (p. 59), smearing it with cow-dung (pp. 59–63), clearing away after the meal (section IIC, pp. 229–33), and so on. As is clear from the parallel timetable, these duties are to be performed when the husband is studying religious literature or working for the family maintenance. They are thus both part of a woman's religious path and her contribution to the family. The parallel with the man's religious duties becomes more apparent in the context of Manu's dictum on marriage for women: a wife serving her husband is like a student serving his teacher; and her household duties are equivalent to her husband's performance of the fire sacrifice (Manu II.67; see section I, p. 35, note 16). Looked at from this point of view, household tasks become part of the powerful *vrata* or religious observance of the wife. Hence the high tone in which these apparently mundane tasks are described.

## IIA Before Dawn (Sdhp. 2v.5–7v.9)

I shall begin by taking, out of sequence, the rulings relating to the time of waking (*prabodhanam*; Sdhp.2v.5–3r.3). As Tryambaka explains, ‘both householder and wife should already be awake (i.e. have risen) in the final or sixth division of the night (4.00–6.00 a.m.)’.<sup>1</sup> ‘According to the *Smṛtiratnāvalī*, it is wrong to be asleep (or in bed) after the *brāhmamuhūrta*: if a married couple stays in bed in the *brāhmamuhūrta*, their house is like a cremation ground, shunned by the (spirits of) the ancestors.’<sup>2</sup>

Although definitions of *brāhmamuhūrta* differ, the general ruling is constant in *smṛti* literature. Rising before dawn is prescribed for everyone from the Vedic student to the householder (e.g. Manu IV.92; Yājñ.I.115; Gaut.XXIII.21). Kullūka on Manu IV.92 defines *brāhmamuhūrta* as an unspecific pre-dawn period (*kālamātravacanah*), so called because of its association with Brāhmī, the goddess Bhāratī—a false identification as is evidenced by the alternative name ‘the hour of Prajāpati’ (*prājāpatye muhūrte*; e.g. Vas.XII.47)—and because it is the time devoted to Vedic recitation. Sm.C.II.p.234 quotes a verse attributed to Pitāmahā defining *brāhmamuhūrta* as the last division of the night (*rātreḥ paścimo yamaḥ*; i.e. 4.30–6.00 a.m.). Par.M.I.i. pp. 219–20 quotes both Manu IV.92 and Yājñ.I.115 cited above, as well as equivalent passages from the *Kūrma-* and *Viṣṇupurāṇas*, and defines *brāhmamuhūrta* as the first of the two *muhūrtas* that make up the *ardhaprahara* or one and a half hour period before dawn (i.e. 4.30–5.15 a.m.) According to Śrīdharasvāmin’s commentary on the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, it is the third *muhūrta* before sunrise (*sūryodayāt pūrvam trītye muhūrte*; III.ii.5), i.e. two hours before dawn.

A cycle of legends referred to in the *Brāhmaṇas* explains why one should rise before dawn. According to the *Maitrāyaṇīśamhitā* (IV.1.9), the gods sought a scapegoat on whom they might ‘wipe

1. *śodhah vibhajya rajaṇīm caramāṁśe prabodhitah / patnyā saha . . .* // Sdhp.2v.8. Cf. note 6.

2. *brāhme muhūrte nidrākarane doṣa uktah smṛtiratnāvalyām // brāhme muhūrte seveṭām śayanam yatra dampati / śmaśānatulyam tad veṣma pitṛ-bhīḥ parivarjitam // iti //* Sdhp.2v.9–10 (*Smṛtiratnāvalī*) Sm.M.p.209 (*Smṛtiratnāvalī*).

off' the guilt of the blood-sacrifice. Agni spat upon the waters: Ekata, Dvita and Trita were born. The gods unloaded their guilt on them, and they in turn unloaded it onto whoever was still asleep when the sun rose. This was the beginning of a chain in which each individual, by virtue of his own sin, receives this new sin and then passes it on to another even more sinful individual. According to the *Maitrāyaṇīsamhitā*, the buck stops at the foetus-killer; according to the *Taititiriyabrahmāṇya* (III.2.8.9 ff.), at the brahmin-murderer. All the individuals mentioned in the various lists, including the person who is still asleep at dawn, are evidently regarded as being already sinful and thus the appropriate recipients of the guilt or sin of others (cf. Bloomfield 1964(1):521 ff.).

Secondly (Tryambaka in fact makes this point first), 'a woman should rise before her husband does.'<sup>3</sup> A verse Tryambaka attributes to Yājñavalkya explains that 'a woman who lies down after her husband and wakes before him, and who desires no one else in her mind, is held to be a devoted wife (*pativrata*).'<sup>4</sup> This means that, according to the sixfold division of night, a man is required to rise at 4 a.m. and his wife earlier still.

This attribute of the devoted wife is much praised in epic literature. For example, Yudhiṣṭhīra's eulogy of Draupadī when he stakes her in the dice game includes in the list of her perfections the fact that she is always the last in the household to go to bed and the first to wake (Mbh.II.58.35a). Draupadī says much the same thing herself in her far longer lecture to Satyabhāmā on the proper behaviour of wives (Mbh.III.222.23, 36; see section IV, pp. 280–1). Although it seems at first sight to be a minor point, this ruling in fact combines two important requirements of *strīdharma*: the reverence a wife should show her husband; and her selfless preoccupation with household tasks.

Thirdly, 'as soon as she is awake, she should meditate on the (chosen) deity.'<sup>5</sup> The rulings on meditation (*devatādhyānam*)

3. *strīyā bhartrprabodhāt pūrvam eva prabodhavyam* // Sdhp.2v.5–6.

4. *tathā ca yājñavalkyah* // *supte paścāc ca yā śete pūrvam eva prabudhyate/ nānyam kāmayate citte sā vijñeyā pativrata* // *iti* // Sdhp.2v.6–7 (Yājñ.)  
< ? Not in Yājñ. N.S. index.

5. *prabudhya ca devatādhyānam kartavyam* // Sdhp.2v.7.

are in principle applicable to both men and women and are described elsewhere in various ways. In fact, the term 'meditation' with all its complex (and modern) associations is somewhat misleading here. It probably means no more than recalling to mind an image of a particular deity, perhaps using the *dhyāna* verse of a familiar *stotra* that is specifically designed to aid the worshipper in creating this mental image (cf. Bühnemann 1983:24, 26, 30).

The *Smṛticandrikā* (II.p.234, quoting Kūrm.P.II.18.3) rules that one should meditate on (one's chosen) god; or alternatively (quoting Manu IV.92), that one should meditate on 'the true meaning of the Veda' (*vedatattvārtham*), glossed as 'the supreme Self' (*paramātmā*). One would expect Tryambaka to reject both these alternatives when applied to women: the former because (according to his own rulings) the worship of deities is one of the six things that cause women to fall (section IV, p. 275, note 7); the latter, because she has no access to Vedic literature. Several digests prescribe the recitation of five verses from the *Vāmanapurāṇa* (Vām.P.14.23–7; cf. Vir.A.p.16; Sm.M.II.p.210). Some suggest verses naming individuals whose praise brings great merit (Nala, Yudhiṣṭhira, Sītā, Kṛṣṇa, etc.; cf. Sm.M.II.p.210). Others list those who have lived long (Aśvatthāman, Bali, Vyāsa, Hanuman, etc.) or suggest the names of the five holy women (Ahalyā, Draupadī, Sītā, Tārā, Mandodarī; cf. PVK II.i.p.648). Tryambaka, however, ignores even the last particularly suitable suggestion and specifies merely that 'the husband together with his wife should meditate on Hari (Viṣṇu), and then reflect on the requirements of *dharma* and *artha* for the coming day.'<sup>6</sup> Presumably, meditating with one's husband on his chosen deity is allowed. Yet in his section on widowhood, Tryambaka explicitly states that the good wife may worship Viṣṇu only if she thinks all the time of her husband and not of the god (section IV, p. 300, note 66).

The latter part of the ruling is to be found in many *smṛti*s and digests (e.g. Manu IV.92; Yājñ.I.115; Sm.C.II.p.234). It is a reference to the marriage ritual and recalls the vow made by the bridegroom that he will fulfil the requirements of *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma* only with his (chief, i.e. lawful) wife (cf. PVK II.i.533). (For a

6. *tathā ca smṛtyantare// ṣodhaḥ vibhajya rajaṇīṁ caramāṁśe prabodhitah// patnyā saha hariṇ dhyātvā dharmam arthaṁ ca cintayet // iti // Sdhp.2v.7–9 (smṛtyantara) < Sm.M.II.p.209 (smṛtyantara). Cf. note 1.*

modern version of this ritual in which the bride makes this vow, see Menski 1984:II,872.) The requirements of *kāma* have presumably been met by sexual intercourse the night before. In the morning, after the appropriate meditation to purify their minds, they should together consider the religious duties (*dharma*) and business or worldly commitments (*artha*) of the coming day. According to the *Visṇupurāṇa*, one should contemplate all three together, as long as neither *kāma* nor *artha* conflict with *dharma* (III.11.5–7). It is frequently stressed that the *trivarga*, the triple goal of the householder, can only be met through the co-operation of the wife (e.g. Sm.C.III.ii.p.582); hence the wife is the root or basis of that goal (*mūlam trivargasya*, Mbh.I.68.40; cf. Yājn.1.74).

This is another example of the third category of *āhnika* rulings, but one in which the earlier tone of joint participation of both wife and husband remains. It is this aspect of *strīdharma* that earns the good wife the epithet *sadharmancārīṇī*, ‘she who fulfils *dharma* with (her husband)’. It is this same aspect of *strīdharma* that Yudhiṣṭhīra finds so hard to comprehend in view of the dire pronouncements usually made concerning the wickedness of women. I shall consider Yudhiṣṭhīra’s problem in the section on the inherent nature of women (see section III, p. 268). I shall comment further on the nature of the wife’s participation in her husband’s ritual duties in the subsection on the fire sacrifice (see section IIB, pp. 107–15).

The fourth proviso on getting up in the morning concerns ‘what one may or may not see (*darśanīyāny adarśanīyāni ca*) on waking’,<sup>7</sup> that is, during that crucial first stage of the day. Tryambaka quotes two *ślokas* from Kātyāyana. The work identified here is included in Jīvānanda’s collection of *smṛtis*, the *Dharmaśāstrasamgraha*, as the *Karmapradīpa* of Kātyāyana or the *Kātyāyanasmṛti* (Kāty. Sm.). As the opening verse explains, it is based on the *Gobhilagrhyasūtra* and is intended as a further elucidation of certain topics covered there. The same work is given in the Ānandāśrama collection of *smṛtis*, the *Smṛtiṇām Samuccayah*, as *Gobhilasmṛti* (Gobh.Sm.). These particular two *ślokas*, or versions of them, are frequently quoted in writings on *āhnika*. The *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* deals at length with other kinds of omens occurring at dawn, from the calls of

7. *prabodhānantaram darśanīyāny adarśanīyāni ca darśayati kātyāyanah* // Sdhp.2.v.10–3r.1.

birds and animals to the shapes and colours of the passing clouds (Br.Sam.30).

The first *śloka* provides a list of auspicious sights. ‘If, on rising early, one sees a learned brahmin, a fortunate man, a cow, fire, or a man who has performed the *agnicayana* ritual, then one is released from (all) difficulties.’<sup>8</sup> For *subhagam*, ‘a fortunate man’ (Sdhp.; Sm.M.; Par.M. preferred reading), there is the alternative reading *subhagām*, ‘a fortunate woman’ (i.e. one whose husband is alive; Gobh.Sm.; Kāty.Sm.; Par.M., 11 out of 13 MSS). A similar reference in Par.Sm.XII.47 concerning objects the sight of which is always auspicious modifies *gām*, ‘cow’, to *kapilā* (*kapilavarṇā dhenuḥ*; Par.M.II.ii.p.34), ‘a dark brown cow’. (In Mbh.XIII.76, Bhīṣma explains why the *kapila* cow is more sacred than any other.) *Agnicitam* may either be taken together with *agnim* to mean ‘an altar on which the fire sacrifice is made’ (cf. PVK II.1.648); or it may, as I prefer, be taken separately to mean ‘a man who has performed the (*śrauta* ritual of) constructing the fire altar’ (i.e. as described in the *Śatapathabrahmaṇa*). Par.Sm.XII.47 lists *agnicit* first among the objects the sight of which is always auspicious. The *Parāśaramādhavīya* takes this to mean ‘one who is auspicious (*yuktah*; lit. “fit” or “suitable”) by virtue of the fire altar he has created by piling up bricks (*iṣṭakācayanasamskrtenāgninā*).’

The second *śloka* provides the complementary list of inauspicious sights. ‘If, on rising early, one sees a very wicked man, an unfortunate man, an intoxicating drink, a naked man, or one who has had his nose cut off, that is a sign of misfortune.’<sup>9</sup> There are a variety of alternative readings here. For *durbhagam*, ‘an unfortunate man’

8. *śrotriyam subhagam gām ca hy agnim agnicitam tathā / prātar uthāya yah paśyed āpadbhyaḥ sa pramucyate* // Sdhp.3r.1–2 (hy inserted to restore the metre; cf. Sm.M.) < Sm.M.p.211 (hy *agnim* for *agnim*; *vimucyate* for *pramucyate*); Par.M.I.i.p.221 (*subhagam* preferred reading, 11 out of 13 MSS give *subhagām*: Calcutta edn. gives *śubhagāṅgām*): Kāty.Sm.19.9, Jīv.I.p.629 (*subhagām* for *subhagam*); Gobh.Sm.II.163, SS (*srotriyam subhagām gām vā sāgnim agnicitim yathā . . .*).

9. *pāpiṣṭham durbhagam madyam nagnam utkṛttanāsikam / prātar uthāya yah paśyet tat kaler upalakṣanam // iti* // Sdhp.3r.2–3 < Sm.M.II.p.211 (*martyam* for *madyam*); Par.M.I.i.p.221 (*cāndham* preferred reading; two MSS give *madyam*; Calcutta edn. prefers *madyam*); Kāty.Sm.19.9, Jīv.I.p.629 (*durbhagām antyam* for *durbhagam madyam*; *sa* for *tat*; *upayujyate* for *upalakṣanam*); Gobh.Sm.II.165,SS (as Kāty.Sm.).

(*Sdhp.*; *Sm.M.*; *Par.M.*), there is *durbhagām*, 'an unfortunate woman' (i.e. a widow; *Gobh.Sm.*; *Kāty.Sm.*; see section IV, pp. 298–304). For *madyam*, 'an intoxicating drink' (*Sdhp.*; *Par.M.*, two MSS and the Calcutta edn.), there is *martyam*, 'a dead (lit. "mortal") man' (*Sm.M.*); *antyam*, 'an inferior man' (i.e. an untouchable; *Gobh. Sm.*; *Kāty.Sm.*); and *cāndham*, a blind man (*Par.M.*, preferred reading).

*Utkṛttanāsikam*, 'one whose nose has been cut off' probably refers to the punishment of mutilation. This is noted in A.D. 19 by Strabo (McCrindle 1971:57). Hsüan-Tsang, in A.D. 630–44, records that the violator of filial duty had his nose, ears, hands and feet cut off in punishment. However, since this particular offence is normally accorded a fine in the lawbooks (e.g. *Manu VIII.389*; *Kaut.III.20.18*), perhaps Hsüan-Tsang's statement is an exaggeration intended as propaganda for his own people (Devahuti 1970: 4–5). Nonetheless, the nose is included among the ten parts of the body on which punishment may be inflicted in the case of offenders of the three lower castes (*Manu VIII.124–5*; *Gaut.I.8.13*). In the case of a woman convicted of adultery, Kauṭilya rules that if her husband is not ready to forgive her, she should have her nose and ears cut off, whereas her lover should be killed (IV.12.30–3). In epic literature, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa cut off Tātakā's nose, ears and hands with undisguised relish before killing her (*Rām.I.26.11*, 17–18); and later Lakṣmaṇa cuts off the nose and ears of Rāvaṇa's sister as punishment for her improper suggestions to Rāma (*Rām. III.18.21*). In the context of war, the *Mānasollāsa*, written by King Someśvara in c. A.D. 1140, describes four means of subduing an enemy including the *janāṅgacchedaka* type, according to which defeated warriors had their ears and noses cut off (Vol.I,2.20.1034, 39). Interestingly, in the Marathi expression *nāk kāpane*, the literal meaning ('to cut the nose') has been superseded by the metaphorical ('to defeat'; cf. Bühnemann 1983:73). Nonetheless, the loss of the nose seems to have occurred sufficiently often for its restoration by plastic surgery to have become the special practice and skill of the brickmaker caste. One such case is reported, and the operation described in detail, by British medical officers in India in 1794: the victim was a bullock-driver with the British army who, being made prisoner by Tippu Sultan, had his nose and one of his hands cut off (Urban 1794:891–2; plate I, facing p.883).

Alternatively, *utkṛttanāsika* might refer to a deformed nose, or even to a tribal physiognomy considered unattractive to the high-caste Hindu. When Strabo writes of a people 'without noses, having only two orifices above the mouth, through which they breathe', or Ktēsias of a 'deformed' people with 'snub noses', McCrindle interprets these as exaggeratedly dismissive descriptions of Mongolian tribes regarded by the orthodox Hindu as of extremely low caste (1971:60–3). 'Noselessness' in this context might be no greater deformity than the receding chin of the so-called 'chinless wonder'. This possibility is reinforced by Varāhamihira's section on the auspicious and inauspicious marks of men (*puruṣalakṣaṇam*; Br.Sam.68.60–2). A conspicuous nose is deemed auspicious: a long one (*dirgha*), for example, brings good fortune; one like a parrot's beak (*sukasamanāsa*) brings happiness. A flat one (*cipiṭanāsa*), however, indicates that death will be caused by a woman; whereas one that looks as if it has been cut off (*chinnānurūpa*) indicates contact with forbidden women. Whether the nose described is mutilated, deformed, or merely especially flat, however, the sight of it first thing in the morning is inauspicious.

There is one further point. These rulings on what should or should not be seen are among those couched grammatically in the masculine gender but deemed by Tryambaka to apply to women too (see section I). However, even if we accept the readings *subhagām* and *durbhagām*, most of the people listed are men and Tryambaka gives clear directions that women should as far as possible avoid all men other than their husbands (see section IIC, pp. 170–6). One might argue that the modification of gender should be invoked here too but that is not always possible: *śrotriya* (a brahmin learned in the Veda) and *agnicit* (one who has performed the *śrauta* ritual of constructing the fire altar), for example, must (according to Tryambaka's view on the religious role of women) apply exclusively to men. It seems that these verses have merely been lifted out of their original (male) context and reapplied rather less appropriately to women. Alternatively, perhaps the rulings in fact apply to men but are given here so that their wives may take appropriate action. For the knowledge of omens (*nimittajñāna*) is listed in the *Kāmasūtra* as one of the sixty-four arts a woman should master. Perhaps it is the wife's duty to ensure that the first thing her husband sees in the morning is auspicious.

### *Household tasks (1)*

Tryambaka proceeds to list the household tasks that must be attended to before dawn (Sdhp.3r.3–4r.4). None of these items are included or even paralleled in the *āhnika* duties for men. It seems a practical necessity, therefore, that women should rise and get to work before their men.

In the context of *dharmaśāstra*, we should note that rulings may be divided into three major types depending on whether or not the reasons for doing them are apparent. Those that are based on practical considerations relating to this world are said to have a ‘visible’ or ‘seen’ basis (*dr̥ṣṭamūla*). Bathing in the morning is an obvious example (see section II A, p.82). Those for which no such this-worldly considerations are evident are held to have a more compelling ‘invisible’ or ‘unseen’ basis (*adr̥ṣṭamūla*), such as the acquisition of merit that will take effect only in the next life. The number of lumps of earth prescribed for the ritual purification of different *varṇas* seems to fit this category (section II A, pp. 71–4). The third type combines both ‘seen’ and ‘unseen’ considerations (*dr̥ṣṭādr̥ṣṭamūla*). For example, one accepts the *prasāda* of a deity both because it is tasty (*dr̥ṣṭamūla*) and because it conveys merit (*adr̥ṣṭamūla*). Many of the rulings concerning early morning house-work may be seen to belong to the *dr̥ṣṭa* classification. For it makes sense to do this kind of hard physical work when one is fresh rather than in the evening when one is tired. Similarly, in order to get the work done at all, a woman would have to rise extremely early.

First, ‘the grain and so on (required for the coming day) must be prepared in the last part of the night.’<sup>10</sup> Attributing his quotations to the *Mārkandeyapurāṇa*, Tryambaka declares that ‘all kinds of happiness and prosperity accrue to those women who in the last division of the night perform such tasks as preparing the grain.’<sup>11</sup> Kishwar and Vanita (1984:3–4) stress the laborious and time-consuming nature of this work. Grains and pulses must be cleaned and sifted by hand to remove dirt, twigs and stones. Paddy

10. *apararātre dhānyasamskārādi kartavyam* // Sdhp.3r.3–4.

11. *tathā ca mārkandeyapurāne* // *niśyāḥ paścime yāme dhānyasamskaranādikam / kriyamāṇam hi nārīnām sarvaśreyodhanāvaham* // *iti* // Sdhp.3r.4–5 (Mārk.P.) < ?

is boiled, dried, then husked by pounding. Wheat and corn are ground. Even spices are usually ground fresh before each meal. The sounds of this lengthy process of cleaning, grinding and pounding can be heard in the dark early hours of morning throughout village India. Sarah Hobson, for example, describes how the women in her household in Karnataka were always up by 4 a.m., grinding the millet for the family's consumption that day (1978:53). A generation ago, this was also common in urban areas where it is now often done by machine.

Next, still 'in the early morning, the house must be thoroughly cleaned and so on.'<sup>12</sup> Tryambaka continues to quote from the *Mārkanḍeyapurāṇa*: 'If the sun's rays touch a house before it has been thoroughly cleaned, then the ancestors, the gods and the (divine) mothers will turn their faces away from him who owns it.'<sup>13</sup> The house belongs to the husband; the penalty is seen to rest on him; but the responsibility for averting it lies with the wife alone.

Once the cleaning is done, she should smear the floor and walls of the house with cow-dung (*gomayenānulepanam*). As in the villages and the poorer urban areas of India today, the houses were made primarily of mud. Then as now, the mud surface was smeared with cow-dung to give it the required smooth and absorbent matt finish. The coating was believed to purify the dwelling, in both the medical (*drṣṭa*) and the ritual (*adṛṣṭa*) sense. Hence, as the quotation attributed to the *Mārkanḍeyapurāṇa* explains, 'every day early in the morning, the woman of the house should smear cow-dung throughout the home; once she has done so, she will meet with no difficulties at all.'<sup>14</sup> In fact, this task involves a considerable amount of work. The dung must first be collected. It is then mixed with mud and straw to form a paste with which major and minor repairs, as well as the required surface finish, may be achieved; and all by hand (cf. Kishwar and Vanita 1984:4).

12. *prātaḥkāle gṛhasammārjanādikam kartavyam* // Sdhp.3r.5.

13. *tad api tatraiva* // *sprśanti rāśmaya yasya gṛham* *sammārjanād* *rte / bhavanti vimukhās* *tasya pitaro devamātarah* // Sdhp.3r.5–6 (Mārk.P.) < ?

14. *prātaḥkāle striyā kāryam gomayenānulepanam / pratyaham sadane tasmān naiva duḥkhāni paśyati* // Sdhp.3r.6–7 (Mārk.P.) < ?

The sanctity of the cow in general is so basic an assumption in Hindu culture that it is rarely justified or explained. Reverence for the cow is enjoined by the lawbooks: being in a cow-pen is likened to being in the presence of brahmins or at the recitation of the Veda (Manu IV.58); polluting a cow to polluting a brahmin or fire (Manu IV.142); offending a cow to offending one's *guru*, one's parents, or brahmins (Manu IV.162). In the *Mahābhārata*, Bhīṣma regales Yudhiṣṭhīra with eulogistic praise of cows: they are the mothers of the universe; there is no gift more sacred; there is nothing to equal them; with each part of their bodies they uphold the sacrifice; sacred in themselves, they can cleanse and sanctify others; and so on (Mbh.XIII.79.12–14; 80.2–3, 12). Even in a busy city street today, one may see a cyclist pause to touch a passing cow, then his own forehead, before pedalling on. Reverence for everything relating to cows is so great that *pañcagavya*, a mixture of cow's milk, curd, ghee, urine and dung, together with water in which blades of *kuśa* grass have been placed, is deemed to purify many sins (e.g. section II.D, p. 244, note 24; Yājñ.III.263,314; *Baudhāyanagrhyāśeṣasūtra* II.20.1 ff.; Par.Sm.XI.28–34; Manu XI.165).

When enjoining women to coat their homes with cow-dung, however, Tryambaka evidently feels the need for some further explanation concerning the sanctity and purifying powers of dung. In fact, he anticipates precisely the kind of reaction that is expressed in the epic by Yudhiṣṭhīra. The latter has heard it said that cow-dung is 'delighted in by Śrī, the goddess of prosperity' (*śriyā juṣṭam*), but he has his doubts (Mbh.XIII.81.1). Bhīṣma's response is to narrate the story of how the goddess came to dwell in the dung of cows (*śrīgosamvādah*; Mbh.XIII.81). Tryambaka's digression in praise of cow-dung (*gomayasya prāśastyam*; Sdhp.3r. 7–3v.5) is extracted from this.

Tryambaka's version runs briefly as follows. 'Assuming a beautiful form, Śrī entered among the cows and said: "I wish to dwell in any one part of you, even in one that is (usually) despised. For nothing despicable can be seen in you, O sinless ones. O you who are both pure (in yourselves) and (capable of) purifying (others), O you fortunate ones, grant me a dwelling place! Please tell me where in your bodies I may dwell." The cows replied: "O glorious one, we must of necessity show honour to you. O beautiful one, dwell in our dung and urine for they are pure." Śrī replied: "By

good fortune, you have shown me this gracious favour. Let it be as you say and may all be well with you! O you who bestow happiness, I am honoured!" (Bhīṣma concludes to Yudhiṣṭhira:) "My son, the great glory of cow-dung has now been explained to you..."<sup>15</sup> The conclusion comes from another chapter altogether: 'one should therefore not recoil in any way from either the dung or the urine of cows.'<sup>16</sup> Tryambaka sums up in his own words. 'And thus it has been established by the experience of everyone that a place smeared with cow-dung is pure, the abode of Lakṣmī.'<sup>17</sup>

Tryambaka's greatly abbreviated story is clearly intended to encourage women to bring the goddess of prosperity into the house by smearing it with cow-dung. What he omits from the version told by Bhīṣma, however, is equally instructive. For when the cows first see the goddess, although they are impressed by her beauty, they do not know who she is (Mbh.XIII.81.4–5). She identifies herself as the one whose absence caused the defeat of the Daityas, whose presence bestows happiness on gods and *r̄sis*, and without whom neither *dharma*, *artha* nor *kāma* brings happiness (v.6–8). But when she asks permission to reside in the cows, she is abruptly, even rudely, refused on the grounds that she is unstable (*adhruvām*) and fickle (*cañcalām*; v.10). Besides, they explain, their bodies are good enough already; they have no need of her (v.11). Śrī's first response is to bluster. She describes the lengths to which both gods and demons have gone in order to gain her favour; never in

15. Sdhp.3r.7–3v.3 (Mbh.). *gomayasyu prāsastam ānusāsanike // śrī kṛtveha  
vapuh kāntam gomadhyesu viveśa ha //* < Mbh.XIII.81.3a (gomadhyam-  
praviveśa). *apy ekāṅge tu vo vastum icchāmi ca śukutsite / na vosti kutsitam  
kimcid angesv ālakṣyate naghāḥ //* Mbh.XIII.81.20. *punyāḥ pavitrāḥ subhagā  
mama vāsam prayacchata / vaseyan् yatra vo dehe tan me vaktum ihārhatha //*  
< Mbh.XIII.81.21 (deśam for vāsam; cāṅge 'ham for vo dehe; vyākhyātum  
for vaktum iha). *gāvah ūcuh // avaśyam mānanā kāryā tavāsmābhīr yaśasvini //*  
*śakṛnmūtre vasa tvam hi punyam etad dhi nah śubhe //* < Mbh.XIII.81.23  
(nivāsa nah for vasa tvam hi). *śrīr uvāca // diṣṭyā prasādo yusmābhīḥ kṛto me  
'nugrahātriakāḥ / evam bhavatu bhadram vah pūjītāsmi sukhapradāḥ //* <  
Mbh.XIII.81.24. *evam gośakṛtaḥ putra māhātmyam te 'nuvarṇitam //* <  
Mbh.XIII.81.26a.

16. *gavāṁ mūtrapurīṣasya no 'dvijeta katham̄ cana // iti // Sdhp.3v.3–4*  
(Mbh.) < Mbh.XIII.77.15a (kadācana for katham̄ cana).

17. *ata eva gomayenānulipto deśah śucir lakṣmyā āyatanaṁ iti sarvajanānu-  
bhavaśiddham // Sdhp.3v.4–5.*

the three worlds has she been so insulted (v.12–15). The cows demur: they did not mean to offend her; however, she is unstable and fickle, and for this reason alone they do not want her to be part of them; and there is no need to discuss the matter any further (v.16–17). Now Śrī is reduced to begging. If they cast her off like this, she will become an object of scorn in the world. They are always ready to grant protection to others, so why not to her? If they rescue her from her predicament, she will always be devoted to them. She is even willing to take up residence in the most despised part of their body, since no part of them can truly be considered despicable (v.18–20). Faced with such desperate pleas, the cows (described as ‘naturally inclined to show compassion to those in distress’; *karunavatsalāḥ*) confer with one another (v.22). At last, they give in: she may dwell in their dung and urine (v.23). Śrī is overcome with gratitude (v.24). The whole tone of this passage and the balance of power implied is quite different from that suggested in Tryambaka’s doctored version.

It is obvious that ‘fortune’ is personified as a female quite simply because it is held to possess such ‘female qualities’ as fickleness and instability. As I explain in section III, these are two of the catchwords that describe the innate weaknesses of women. According to Manu VIII.77, women have by nature such unstable minds (*strībuddher asthiratvāt*) that even pure women are not permitted to serve as witnesses in court. (For some reason, the unreliability of the female mind does not debar women from giving evidence in court for other women; see Manu VIII.68.)

It is equally obvious that identifying the goddess with defect-ridden human women cannot serve Tryambaka’s purpose here. He needs the image of Śrī to be glorious and powerful for two reasons. First, he uses her presence in cow-dung to explain and glorify the custom of smearing the house with it and, by association, to ascribe that task to women. For example, it is one of the tasks included in Umā’s discourse to Maheśvara on the proper behaviour of wives (Mbh.XIII.134.44; omitted in Tryambaka’s extract in section IV, pp. 281–2). Secondly, Śrī must be a figure for women to emulate (e.g. Mbh.I.191.5–6). Thus the truly virtuous wife herself becomes the embodiment of Śrī in the home (e.g. Draupadī, Mbh.I.189.29,33; Sāvitrī, Mbh.III.277.25). Elsewhere, Śrī herself explains that she resides in those women who are devoted to truth, attend to their housework, always obey their husbands, and behave

with the appropriate decorum (Mbh.XIII.11.10 ff.). Indeed, as Manu explains, there is no difference between virtuous child-bearing wives (*striyah*) and goddesses of fortune (*śriyah*) dwelling in the homes of men (IX.26). It is evidently counterproductive, then, to allow the cows to label Śrī with the same faults as ordinary women and to treat her in the same disparaging way. Quite reasonably, therefore, Tryambaka edits the passage to suit his own requirements.

In the context of the *Strīdharmapaddhati*, and Tryambaka's insistence that the good wife should worship no god other than her husband (e.g. section IV, p.274, note 2; p.281, note 21; p.282, note 24; p.300, notes 66, 67; etc.), it is instructive to ask what exceptions are allowed, and why. In fact, there are only two, and both concern goddesses: Śrī in this section; and her sister, Jyesthā, in section IIC (pp. 227–9). But neither goddess is being nominated to rival the husband. Clearly, Śrī is not to be worshipped in the sense that Śiva or Viṣṇu might be; she is to be emulated. For Tryambaka, she is simply the embodiment of the orthodox belief regarding the good wife. The negative associations he glosses over remain an unspecified but uneasy undercurrent in the complex world of *strīdharma*. (For the even more ambivalent image of Jyesthā, see section IIC, pp. 227–9.)

The link between the goddess and women is further reinforced in the next subsection. The worship of the threshold (*dehalipūjā*) is yet another household task to be completed before dawn by the woman of the house. Tryambaka quotes a series of unattributed *ślokas*. ‘In the early morning in particular, the threshold is not to be left blank (i.e. of *rangavalya*; see note 22). If a woman leaves her threshold blank (*sūnyā*), her family also becomes a blank.’<sup>18</sup> This is a reference to the auspicious designs sketched in white or coloured powders on and around the front entrance by the woman of the house. In villages today right across India, women can still be seen making these often very complex designs in the early hours of the morning. A family that is *sūnya* is one without children. Since in the orthodox view a woman’s primary function is to bear children (e.g. Manu IX.96), this is a dire threat indeed.

18. *aśūnyā dehalī kāryā prātahkāle viśesataḥ / yasyāḥ sūnyā bhavet sā tu sūnyam tasyāḥ kulaṁ bhavet // Sdhp.3v.5–6 < ?*

Tryambaka continues the quotation. ‘The goddess, deity of all, always resides on the threshold. She must therefore be worshipped there every day with the fragrance of sandalwood paste, flowers, unbroken grains and so on.’<sup>19</sup> ‘Anyone who touches that threshold with his foot or crosses over it without worshipping it first will find no happiness; therefore one should take care not to do that.’<sup>20</sup> ‘If a woman walks over ground that has been smeared (i.e. with cow-dung) but not marked with the auspicious sign of the *svastika*, she will lose three things: her wealth (*vittam*), long life and her good reputation.’<sup>21</sup> The reference to a woman’s wealth must presumably be understood in terms of the rules set forth by Tryambaka regarding the rights of women to own property (*strīdhanam*; see section IV, pp. 277–80). Ground that is smeared with cow-dung but unmarked by the *svastika* is traditionally held to be extremely inauspicious. It is the custom in Maharashtra, for example, that when a corpse has been lying on the ground, after it is finally removed, the area is smeared with cow-dung and deliberately left without the mark of the *svastika*. Ground treated in this way is thus automatically associated with someone’s death (LSJ). Tryambaka concludes that ‘the goddess Lakṣmī, complete with all her attributes, always dwells in the house that always shines as a result of smearing (with cow-dung) and auspicious powder designs (*rāngavalya*).’<sup>22</sup>

Tryambaka now adds the rider that ‘this (i.e. all these items of house-work)—cleaning (the house), smearing (the walls and floor with cow-dung), pounding (the grain) and so on—should be done as far as possible by (the wife) herself; alternatively, she may get someone else (such as a servant, daughter-in-law or even junior co-wife) to do them.’<sup>23</sup> In support of this statement, Tryambaka

19. *udumbare vasen nityam bhavānī sarvadevatā / tataḥ sā pratyaham pūjyā gandhapuspākṣatādibhiḥ* // Sdhp.3v.6–7 < ?

20. *pādasya sparsanām tatra asampūjya ca laṅghanam / kurvan na sukhām āpnoti tasmat tat parivarjayet* // Sdhp.3v.7–8 < ?

21. *akṛtavastikām yā tu kramel liptām ca medinīm / tasyās trīṇi vinaśyanti vittam āyur yaśas tathā* // Sdhp.3v.8–9 < ?

22. *yad gr̥ham rājate nityam rāngavalyānulepanaiḥ / tad gr̥he vasate lakṣmīr nityam pūrnakalānvitā* // iti // Sdhp.3v.9–10 < Sm.M.I.p.158 (maṅgalair anulepanaiḥ for *rāngavalyānulepanaiḥ*; Vyāsa.)

23. *idam ca dhānyāvahananopalepanasammārjanādikām yathāśakti svayam kuryāt kārayed vā* // Sdhp. 3v.10–4r.1.

quotes from Sumanā's advice to Śāndilī on the correct behaviour of women (see also section IV, pp. 282–3). With regard to the wife's general domestic duties, Sumanā explains, 'rising early in the morning, I do or get someone else to do all the tasks that have arisen for the benefit of the household.'<sup>24</sup>

But on no account may the wife delegate her sacrificial duties to anyone else. As Tryambaka declares, 'she should herself attend to serving the (sacred) fire and to preparing the implements required for the worship of the gods.'<sup>25</sup> In support of this statement, Tryambaka presents a quotation attributed to 'Skānda' (Sdhp.4r3–4) that is reproduced in his comments on *devapūjā* (Sdhp. 12v.5–8, section IIC, pp. 178–80, and again in his section on general behaviour (Sdhp. 7–9, section IV, pp. 273–4.) I shall deal with it in the most appropriate of these three contexts, that of *devapūjā* (section IIC, p. 179, note 35). It is enough to say here that the virtuous wife may delegate her domestic duties to servant or relative (cf. Sinha 1980:116–19), but never her ritual duties.

At this point, Tryambaka moves on to the rules concerning personal hygiene (*mūtrapurīṣotsargah*; see below, pp. 69–71). Before describing these, however, I shall briefly consider the rulings given in the later subsection on the care and worship of cows (*gosevanam*; Sdhp.5v.9–6v.5; plate 1). These are also among the duties to be performed before dawn but, in Tryambaka's schema, they are sandwiched rather oddly between teeth-cleaning (*dantadhāvanam*; see pp. 78–82) and bathing (*snānam*; pp. 82–8). I prefer to include them in this section on general household duties, together with the other points relating to cows and cow-dung.

Without introduction or comment, Tryambaka quotes what are apparently two passages from the *Mahābhārata*. In fact, both consist of *ślokas* and half-*ślokas* taken indiscriminately either from the *Mahābhārata* chapters on cows or from verses elsewhere attributed to the *Mahābhārata*. Most of the rulings are given in the masculine form, indicating general duties applicable to both men and women but here ascribed to women. Their inclusion in

24. *tathā cānuśāsanike śāṇḍilōm prati sumanā //* Sdhp.4r.1. *kuṭumbārthe samānītam yat kiṁcīt kāryam eva tu / prātar utthāya tat sarvam kārayāmi karomi ca // iti //* Sdhp.4r.1–2 (Mbh.) < Mbh.XIII.124.15.

25. *agniparicaryām devapūjopakaraṇasādhanādīni tu svayam kuryāt //* Sdhp.4r.2–3.

this treatise is probably intended to reinforce still further the link between women, the goddess Śrī and cows.

The first lengthy passage reads as follows. ‘If one pays homage to cows morning and evening, one becomes prosperous. One should always praise cows, not treat them with contempt. One should not be hostile towards cows, even in the mind, but should always strive to make them happy. One should honour and worship them with gestures of respect (*namaskārai[h]*). For cows are the mothers of all beings and they bring happiness to all. Those who seek success should always walk round cows, keeping them on their right (*pradakṣināḥ*; i.e. as a token of respect; cf. Manu IV.39; Gonda 1980:58–9). One should not kick cows (cf. A.V.XIII.1.56), nor walk through the midst of them. For they are gods in whom good fortune resides and so must always be honoured.’<sup>26</sup> ‘Whether in the hot season, in the rains, or in the cold season, or in any windy or extreme conditions, one should not see to one’s own safety without first seeing as far as possible to that of one’s cows. One should not report a cow that is eating, whether it is doing so in one’s own house, field or threshing floor, or in someone else’s; nor should one report a calf that is sucking (cf. Manu IV.59; Āp.I. 31.10.18; Gaut.IX.23 etc.). (Calves are often tethered precisely to prevent them from drinking their mother’s milk). If a cow has fallen or become stuck in the mud, one should use all one’s strength to raise it up.’<sup>27</sup> ‘Confining and tethering cows for their own protec-

26. Sdhp.5v.9–6r.3 (Mbh.). *atha gosevanam /bhārate// sāyam prātar namasyec ca gās tataḥ puṣṭim āpmuyāt //* < Mbh.XIII.77.15b (cf. note 29). *gāś ca saṃkirtayen nityam nāvamanyeta tās tathā //* < Mbh.XIII.77.17a (*tās* for *gās*). *druhyen na manasā vāpi goṣu nityam sukhapradah / arcayeta sadā caiva namaskāraīś ca pūjayed //* < Mbh.XIII.80.33ab (*na* *druhyen* for *druhyen na*; *cāpi* for *vāpi*; *tā hi* for *nityam*). *mātarah sarvabhūtānām gāvah sarva-sukhapradāh / vṛddhim ākāṅksatā nityam gāvah kāryāḥ pradakṣināḥ //* < Mbh. XIII.68.6b–7a. *santādyā na tu pādena gavām madhye na ca vrajet //* < ? *māngalāyatanaṁ devyas tasmāt pūjyāḥ sadaiva hi//* < Mbh.XIII.68.7b.

27. Sdhp.6r.3–5 (Mbh.). *uṣṇe varṣati śite vā mārute vāti vā bhṛśam / na kurvitāmanas trāṇam gor akṛtvā svaśaktitah //* ātmāno yadi vānyeśām gṛhe kṣetre khale ‘thavā/ bhakṣayantūn na kathayet pibantam naiva vatsakam//’ < Par.M.II.i.p.248,2–5 (*tu* *śaktitah* for *svaśaktitah*; ‘thavā khale for khale ‘thavā; *caiva* for *naiva*). *patitām pañkalagnām vā sarvaprāṇaiḥ samuddharet //* < Par.M.II.i.p.248, 1 (*ca* for *vā*; ‘prāṇair vimokṣayet for ‘prāṇaiḥ samud-dharet). Not in Mbh. crit. edn. index.

tion, however, is no sin: (if the cow is harmed in the process), whether intentionally or unintentionally, this is not to be treated as (the punishable offence of) harming it (*tadvadham*); and one should tether the animal with (ropes made from) *kāśa* and *kuśa* grass so that it faces south. But if one drives a cow into a well or a pond, or makes it trip up on logs (or tree stumps), or if one sells it to people who eat cows, then one incurs (the sin of) harming a cow (*govadham*). Moreover, there is no *prāyaścitta* (rite of expiation; i.e. powerful enough to atone) for cows that are killed in a well or ditch, or in a pit with reinforced sides, or in a dammed up river, or in a roadside tank, or in (any such) watering places.<sup>28</sup>

The sin of killing or harming a cow (*govadha*) is listed first in the catalogue of minor offences (*upapātika*) given, for example, in Manu XI.60–7. Gaut.III.4.18 equates it with the murder of a *vaiśya*, Āp.I.9.26.1 with that of a *sūdra*. The penalties imposed vary considerably (e.g. Manu XI.108–16; Yājñ.III.263–4; Viś.Sm. 50.16–24, etc.). However, the statement that there is no *prāyaścitta* powerful enough to atone for the sin of *govadha* conflicts with the traditional view that every ‘sin’ or mistake is matched by a given *prāyaścitta* (cf. Gonda 1980:288 ff.). This issue becomes especially significant in Tryambaka’s discussion of *sahagamana* (see pp. 291–8).

The second passage, also consisting of *ślokas* taken out of sequence from different chapters of the *Mahābhārata*, begins by describing the form that the daily worship of cows should take. ‘One should purify oneself and then, standing among the cows, one should repeat in one’s mind the *gomatīmantra*: “I always see the cows. May the cows always see me! The cows belong to us and we belong to them. Where the cows are there we are also. I bow my head in worship to the cow for she is the mother of the past and the future and by her the whole universe of moving and unmoving things is pervaded.” One should neither go to sleep without praising cows nor get up without remembering them.

28. Sdhp.6r.5–9 (Mbh.). *gavāṁ samrakṣaṇārthāya na dusyed rodhābandhayoḥ // tadvadham tu na tam vidyāt kāmākāmakṛtam tathā / kāśaiḥ kuśaiḥ ca badhnīyat gopāśum daksināmukham // prerayan kūpavāpiṣu vṛksabhedesu pātayan / gavāśaneṣu vikriṇan tataḥ prāpnōti govadham // kūpakhāte taṭābandhe nadībandhaprapāsu ca / pānīyeṣu vipannānāṁ prāyaścittam na vidyate // iti // < ? Not in Mbh. crit. edn. index.*

If one pays homage to cows morning and evening, one becomes prosperous. If a man (*narah*) praises cows in this way both day and night, in rough times or smooth, and even in times of great fear (or danger), he will be freed from (that) fear (or danger). If one wants a son, one obtains a son; the same goes for wealth too; a woman who wants sexual pleasure will gain a husband; indeed men (*mānavah*, superordinate) may obtain whatever they desire. Men (*mānavah*, hyponym) who are devoted to cows obtain whatever they desire; and women who are devoted to cows obtain their desire (too). Indeed, O Bhārata, nothing is hard to obtain for one devoted to cows!<sup>29</sup>

Devotion to cows is thus another pre-dawn *āhnikā* duty. It is to be observed by women as well as men. If a woman wants a son, or marital happiness, or anything else, she has only to devote herself to the care and worship of cows. In more general terms, the care of cows by the higher castes is held to be of great merit precisely because it is dirty work that servants can be called upon to do. It is thus an important ritual act, especially in south India. It seems likely, however, that these rulings are intended not so much for the older established woman of the household but for her new daughter(s)-in-law. We may also note that the recitation of the *gomatīmantra* constitutes an exception to Tryambaka's blanket prohibition on mantras for women (e.g. section V, p. 278, notes 7–8) presumably because it is not from a Vedic text. For the long-

29. Sdhp.6r.9–6v.5. *anyatrāpi // gavāṁ madhye śucir bhūtvā gomatīm manasā jape* // < Mbh.XIII.80.40a. *gā vai paśyāmy aham nityam gāvah paśyantu māṁ sadā / gāvo 'smākam vayam tāsām yato gāvas tato vayam* // Mbh.XIII.77.23 (*gāvah paśyantu māṁ nityam gāvāḥ paśyāmy aham sadā . . .*). *yayā sarvam idam vyāptam jagatsthāvara jaṅgamam / tām dhenum śirasā vande bhūtabhavasya mātāram* // < Mbh.XIII.79.15. *nākīrtayitvā gāh svapyaṇ nāśam-smṛtyaiva cotpatet* // < Mbh.XIII.78.15a (*svapyaṇ smṛtya punar utpatet*). *sāyam prātar namasyec ca gās tataḥ pustim āpnuyāt* // < Mbh.XIII.77.15b (cf. note 26). *evam rātrau divā cāpi samesu visamesu ca / mahābhayesu ca narah kīrtayan mucyate bhayāt* // < Mbh.XIII.77.24 (*caiva for cāpi*). *putrakāmaś ca labhate putram dhanam athāpi vā / prītikāmā ca bhartāram sarvakāmāṁś ca mānavah* // < Mbh.XIII.80.43ab (*patikāmā for prītikāmā*). *goṣu bhaktaś ca labhate yad yad icchati mānavah / striyo 'pi bhaktā yā goṣu tāś ca kāmam avāpnuyuh* // < Mbh.XIII.82.45 (*kāmān for kāmam*). *na kiṃcid durlabham caiva gavāṁ bhaktasya bhārata*// *iti* // < Mbh.XIII.82.47b.

standing worship of the cow as a divinity, as evidenced in the earliest Sanskrit texts, see PVK II.ii.772–5.

### *Ablutions, etc. (Sdhp.4r.4–7v.9)*

*Urinating and defecating (mūtrapurīṣotsargah; Sdhp.4r.4–4v.3).* First, what is the ritual significance of this? Tryambaka explains that, before performing any religious ritual, ‘it is necessary to urinate and so on because one who has not done so is not entitled to participate in religious ritual.’ The proof of this is to be found in the unattributed statement that ‘one who has held back (urine and excrement) should not perform a ritual.’<sup>30</sup> This ruling recalls the āyurvedic distinction between urges which should be suppressed (greed, grief, fear, anger, etc.) and those which should not (natural urges relating to urine, faeces, semen, vomiting, sneezing and so on). Caraka devotes a subsection to this topic, beginning with the importance of not withholding urine and faeces (*na vegān dhārayed dhūmān jātān mūtrapurīṣayoh*). He proceeds to deal with each urge in turn, listing the ailments that result from suppressing it and the remedies to counteract them (Car.I.VII). The ritual consequences, however, are ignored.

Secondly, Tryambaka describes the ‘appropriate place’ where, according to Āpastamba, this should be done. ‘One should urinate and defecate far from one’s house, either to the south (the direction of Yama) or to the south-west (that of Nirṛti; cf. Gonda 1980: 52–7).’<sup>31</sup> But, according to a quotation attributed vaguely to ‘traditional teaching’ (*smaranāt*), ‘this applies (only) to the daytime.’ For practical purposes, ‘daytime’ here includes the early pre-dawn

30. *noparuddhah kriyām care* (< ?; see note 35) *iti vacanena mūtrādy-uparuddhasya kriyānadhiकारदर्शनात् tadutsargah kartavyah* // Sdhp.4r.4–5.

31. *tatra deśaviśeṣam āhāpastambah* // *dūrād āvasathān mūtrapurīṣe kuryād dakṣinām diśam dakṣināparām vā* // *iti* // Sdhp.4r.5–7 (Āp.) < Āp.I.11.31.2. Ap. in fact reads ārāc cāvasathān, while MS T<sub>1</sub> reads ācārāc with a marginal emendation to *dūrād* as above. In the same context and quoting the same sūtra from Āpastamba, Sm.M.II.p.211 and Sm.C.II.p.237 give ārāc cāvasathān; Par.M.I.i.p.224 gives *dūrād āvasathān*. The latter reading is probably influenced by the better-known śloka from Manu that begins: *dūrād āvasathān mūtram . . .* (Manu IV.151; Sm.M.II.p.211; Par.M.I.i.p.224; Sm.C.II.p.237).

hours of morning (strictly speaking, the last division of the night). ‘For it is said that one should urinate and defecate near one’s house at night.’<sup>32</sup>

For the details of how it should be done, Tryambaka turns to Āṅgiras. ‘Rising in the last division of night, one should sip water and cover the ground with grass. Then, in a clean place, with concentrated mind, covering one’s head with one’s garment, and resolutely restraining from speech, spitting and breathing (out), one should urinate and defecate.’<sup>33</sup> As for why one should not speak, spit or breathe out, the answer is presumably ‘unseen merit’ (*adr̥ṣṭārtha*), the stock answer when the reason for a ruling is not obvious (see p. 58).

‘The rule concerning the direction one should face at the various times’ is provided by Gautama. ‘One should urinate and defecate while facing north during the day and at dawn and dusk, but facing south at night.’<sup>34</sup> There are in fact a number of other rulings that Tryambaka might have given instead. Yama, for example suggests facing west in the first part of the day, east in the next, north at midday, and south at night. Devala opts for facing north in the morning, south in the evening; or, as Manu phrases it, north in the daytime and south at night (Sm.C.II.p. 236–7). However all seem to agree that the two twilight periods of dawn and dusk should if possible be avoided, always bearing in mind that one should never obstruct these calls of nature.<sup>35</sup>

Finally, Gautama provides a list of the specific places where one should neither urinate nor defecate: ‘on ashes, on cow-dung (*kari-*

32. *etac ca divāviṣayam // rātrau mūtrapurīṣe tu grhābhyaśe samācaret // iti smaranāt // Sdhp.4r.7 < Sm.M.II.p.211 (smaranāt). Cf. Āp.I.11.31.3.*

33. *tatra prakāram āhāngirāḥ // utthāya paścime rātrau tatu ācamya coda-kam / antardhāya trnair bhūmim śraḥ prāvṛtya vāsasā // vācaṇ niyamya yatnena ṣṭhīvanocchvāsavarjitah / kuryān mūtrapurīṣe tu śucu deṣe samāhitah // iti // Sdhp.4r.7–10 (Ang.) < Sm.M.II.211 (yāme rātrer for rātrau tata; Ang.); Sm.C.II.p.234–5 (as Sm.M.); Par.M.I. p.221 (rātre for rātrau). Cf. Manu V.49; Yājñ.I.16 and comm..*

34. *kālabhedena diṇniyamam āha gautamah // mūtrapurīṣe divā kuryād udurimukhah / samdhyayoś ca / rātrau tu dakṣināmukhah // iti // Sdhp.4r.10–4v.1 (Gaut.) < Gaut.I.9.41–3 (ubhe mūtrapurīṣe tu). Cf. Yājñ.I.16 and comm..*

35. *na vegam dhārayen nōparuddhah kriyām kuryāt //* Gaut. quoted in Sm.C.II.p.236; unattrib. in Par.M.I.i.p.224. Cf. note 30.

*sam*; glossed as *gomayam*), in a ploughed field, in the shade (glossed as “in which one rests”, e.g. in the shade of a tree, cf. Ap.I.30.16; one may urinate on one’s own shadow, v.17), on the road, or in (any other) desirable places.<sup>36</sup> Moreover, ‘one should not void urine, excrement or any other impurity while facing the wind, fire, a brahmin, water, (the image of) a deity, or a cow.’<sup>37</sup> The other ‘impurities’, listed as twelve in Manu V.135 (cf. Sm.C.II.p. 250), include semen, blood, mucus, phlegm, tears and sweat. The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (as quoted by Sm.C.II.p.239) includes women among the things or people one should not face at such a time, along with the wind, fire, the moon, the sun, one’s *guru*, and a brahmin.

Clearly none of the rulings given by Tryambaka concerning *mūtrapuriṣotsarga* are gender specific. He has simply taken rules originally intended for men and applied them to women too.

#### *Cleansing rituals (śaucam; Sdhp.4v.3–5r.4)*

‘One should cleanse oneself immediately’, a process defined by Tryambaka as ‘causing both smell and trace to be removed’.<sup>38</sup> Two verses from Gautama repeat this definition of *śaucam*. ‘Cleansing in the sense of removing all trace and smell of impurity is achieved by using first earth and then water.’<sup>39</sup> Manu adds that as long as smell or trace remain, one must continue to apply earth and water (V.126; cf. Yājñ.I.17).

For ‘the earth appropriate to women’ (*strīnām mr̥ [d]*), Tryambaka turns to Marīci. ‘In the case of women and śūdras, black (earth is to be used).’<sup>40</sup> This rule amplifies Marīci’s statement (quoted in Sm.C.II.p.242) that different coloured earth is appropriate for each *varṇa*: white for brahmins, red for *kṣatriyas*, yellow for *vaiśyas*, and black for śūdras. It is no surprise that women of all *varṇas*

36. *varjyān āha sa eva// na bhasmakarīsakṛṣṭacchāyapāthikāmyeṣu// iti//* Sdhp.4v.1–3 (Gaut.) Gaut.I.9.10. Cf. Manu IV.45–8; Yājñ.I.16–17 and Mit., Viṣ.Sm.60.3–21.

37. *na vāyagniviprādityāpo devatā gāś ca pratipaśyān vā mūtrapuriṣā-medhyān vyudasyet // iti ca //* Sdhp.4v.2–3 < Gaut.I.9.13; cf. Sm.C.II.p.239.

38. *anantaram / gandhalepakṣayakaram śaucam kuryāt //* Sdhp.4v.3 < Yājñ.I.17b.

39. *tathā ca gautamah // lepagandhāpakarsane śaucum amedhyasa // tad adbhīḥ pūrvam myādā ca // iti //* Sdhp.4v.4 (Gaut.) < Gaut.I.1.45–6.

40. *strīnām myādum āha marīcīḥ // kṛṣṇā strīśūdrayos tathā // iti //* Sdhp.4v.4–5 (Marīci) < Sm.C.II.p.242 (Kāśyapa).

are grouped with *śūdras* here. However, ‘if one is unable to find the particular earth prescribed’—in Mahabaleshwar, for example, the earth is predominantly red; around Pune, predominantly black—then ‘any kind will do.’ As Tryambaka and Manu declare, ‘whatever water or earth is to be found in a given place, that is recommended and with that the cleansing should be done.’<sup>41</sup> The *Smṛticandrikā* modifies this statement further by listing all the places from which one may not take earth for this purpose: from rat-infested ground, molehills, a road (*Yama*); earth containing fire, grain husks, insects, bones (*Devala*); from an anthill, from water, from a house, from cultivated land (*Viṣ.P.*); and so on (Sm.C.II.p. 242–3). But none of these rulings are in any way exclusive to women.

For the rules concerning which hand to use (*hastaniyamā[ḥ]*), Tryambaka consults Devala. ‘One who knows *dharma* should not use his right hand for cleansing his lower body; equally he should not cleanse above his navel with his left hand.’<sup>42</sup>

For the amount of earth to be used each time (*mṛtparimāṇam*), Tryambaka quotes Śātātapa. ‘The morsels (of food) prescribed for the *induvrata* are the size of ripe (lit. ‘moist’ or ‘juicy’) *āmalaka* fruit, as are all oblations and also the lumps of earth used for cleansing oneself.’<sup>43</sup> The *induvrata* or ‘moon ritual’ (also called *cāndrāyanā*) is a particular kind of controlled fast that lasts for thirty days and in the course of which the amount of food eaten reflects the waxing and waning of the moon. (The *yavamadhyā* form begins with one morsel of food, increases by a morsel per day until the fifteenth day, and returns to one, thus being fat in the middle like a barley corn (*yava*). The *pipilikamadhyā* form begins

41. *uktamṛttikālābhē yā kācana grāhyā // tathā ca manuh // Sdhp.4v.5–6. yasmīn deśe ca yat toyam yā ca yatraiva mṛttikā / saiva tatra praśastā syāt tayā śaucam vidhīyate // Sdhp.4v.6* (Manu) < Par.M.I.i.p.227 (tu for ca; Manu); Sm.C.II.p.242 (tu for ca; tathā for tayā; Manu). Not in any edns. of Manu consulted.

42. *hastaniyamam āha devalah // Sdhp.4v.7 dharmavid dakṣināṇī hastam adhah śause na yojayet / tathā ca vāmahastena nābher ūrdhvam na śodhayet // Sdhp.4v.7–8* (Devala) < Par.M.I.i.p.228 (Devala); Sm.C.II.p.249 (tathaiva for tathā ca, Devala).

43. *mṛtparimāṇam āha śātātapaḥ // Sdhp.4v.8. ādrāmalakamātrās tu grāsā induvrate sthitāḥ / tathaivāhutayah sarvāḥ śaucārthe yās ca mṛttikāḥ // iti // Sdhp.4v.8–9* (Śāt.) < Sm.C.II.p.247 (smṛtāḥ for sthitāḥ; Śāt.); Sm.M.II.p.218 (as Sm.C.).

with fifteen morsels, decreases to one on the fifteenth day, and then works back to fifteen, thus being thin in the middle like an ant (*pipilika*; cf. Baudh.III.8.33; Mit. on Yājñ.III.323; Manu XI.217–18; Vas.23.45,27.21; Viṣ.Sm. 47.5–6.)

Śatātapa also provides the reference for the number of lumps of earth to be used (*mṛtsāmkhyā[ā]*). ‘Cleansing urine is reckoned to take one lump of earth for the penis, three for the left hand, two more for both hands; and cleansing faeces, twice as many. In the case of women and śūdras, however, half as many is recommended by the wise.’<sup>44</sup> The mention of the male organ (*linga*) demonstrates the male reference of the original ruling. Moreover, the *Smṛticandrikā* version concludes with a ruling related to the voiding of semen not faeces. The last half-śloka is the first of the two examples of rulings specific to women discussed by Tryambaka in his introductory section (see section I, p. 39, note 25). Both the *Smṛtyarthasāra* (p. 19) and Dakṣa (V.12) add that half of the śauca requirements are necessary at night; a quarter if one is sick; an eighth if one is on a journey; and that no particular number is prescribed for women, śūdras, and boys who have not yet undergone the *upanayana* ritual. This recalls my discussion above of the inconsistency entailed in equating on the one hand women in general with śūdras, and on the other unmarried women with uninitiated high-caste boys (section I, pp. 34–9). This example, in which women whether married or not are grouped together with both śūdras and uninitiated high-caste boys, merely adds to the confusion.

For the order in which the cleansing process should be carried out (*krama[ḥ]*), Tryambaka quotes Vyāsa. ‘First, one should cleanse oneself of faecal matter, then of urine; next, one should cleanse one’s feet, and after that one’s hands.’<sup>45</sup>

44. *mṛtsāmkhyām āha śātātapaḥ // Sdhp.4v.9–10. ekā lingे kare savye tisro dve hastayor dvayoh / mūtraśaucam samākhyātam śakṛti dviguṇam bhavet/ strīśūdrayor ardhamānam śaucam proktam manisibhiḥ // iti // Sdhp.4v. 10–5r.1 (Śāt.) < Par M.I.i.p.228,230 (triguṇam for dviguṇam; 1 MS gives dviguṇam; proktam śaucam for śaucam proktam); Sm.C.II.p.243,248 (śukle tu triguṇam for śakṛti dviguṇam bhavet; variant reading tad dviguṇam; proktam śaucam); Sm.M.II.p.218 (first śloka only; tisre for tisro, śukle tu for śakṛti; last half-śloka on p.219, Ādit.P.). Cf. Manu V.136; Vas.VI.18; Viṣ.Sm.60.25; Viṣ.P.III.11.17; etc.. Cf. section I, note 25.*

45. *tatra kramam āha vyāsaḥ // Sdhp.5r.1. viśaucam prathamam kuryān mūtraśaucam atah param/ pādaśaucam tatah kuryāt karaśaucam atah param// iti // Sdhp.5r.2 (Vyāsa) < Sm.M.II.p.218 (Vyāsa).*

Finally, we return to the point at which Tryambaka began in his introduction. The unattributed and partial quotation given there (section I, note 8) is now attributed to Baudhāyana and given in full. It concerns 'the problem caused by not performing the purification rituals described'. 'One must make a constant effort to cleanse oneself (properly), for only then is one essentially pure, a (true) *dvija*; if one fails to perform these rituals of purification, then one's actions will bear no fruit.'<sup>46</sup> The confusion about the status of women is very obvious here. In order to apply the ruling to women, we must invoke the *ūha* of gender. But the exhortation is to behave like a true *dvija* and women are repeatedly classed with *śūdras*. It seems that women are meant to be inspired in one place, humbled in the next, but are certainly never expected to think the matter through. As to what is meant by 'proper cleansing', Mit. on Yājñ.I.17 gives the most sensible answer: one need only use as much earth and water as is necessary to remove all trace and smell. The numbers of lumps actually prescribed are there for 'unseen' (*adr̥ṣṭa*) reasons; hence, for example, the rather startling ruling (given by Tryambaka himself in section IV, p. 286), that a woman who is menstruating requires sixty lumps to cleanse herself on the fourth day, a widow who is menstruating twice as many.

With regard to the practices described in both this section and the previous one, Vidyārṇava remarks with satisfaction that they are easily followed in Indian villages even today. Indeed he laments their abandonment in the cities where 'every house has got its privy.' In his view, 'the old system' provided a number of advantages which are lacking in the new: early morning exercise ('whether they liked it or not'): no need for 'costly systems of sanitation and drainage'; and it did not compel a whole class of people (sweepers) 'to a degraded form of livelihood'. Most important of all, it kept houses clean without 'the necessity of setting apart a portion of it for the accumulation of filth' (1979:12–13). We may assume that many traditionalists today would share his opinion that modern sanitation is in fact a change for the worse.

**46.** *uktasaucaṅkaraṇe pratyavāyam āha bodhāyanah* // Sdhp.5r.2–3. *śauce yatnah sadā kāryaḥ śaucamūlo yato dvijah / śaucācārvihīnasya samastā nisphalāḥ kriyah* // *iti* // Sdhp.5r.3–4 (Baudh.) < Dakṣa V.2 (*dvijah smṛtaḥ* for *yato dvijah*); Par.M.I.i.p.233 (Dakṣa); Sm.C.II.p.249 (Dakṣa); Sm.M.II. p.220 (as Dakṣa; Baudh.). Cf. section I, note 8; Vidyārṇava 1979: 12–13.

*The sipping ritual (ācamanam; Sdhp.5r.4–5v.1)*

First, as Devala explains, *ācamana* must be performed as soon as *śauca* is completed. ‘When one has washed with water each foot in turn as far as the knee, one should wash both hands as far as the wrist, and then perform *ācamana*.’<sup>47</sup> In fact, *ācamana* is a preliminary to all ritual acts (cf. Har. on Āp.I.5.15.1; Gobh.gr.I.1.2). It is to be performed before reciting the Veda (Manu V.138), both before and after meals, after sleeping, sneezing and spitting (cf. Gaut.I.1.40; Manu V.145; Gobh.gr.I.2.32), as well as after urinating or defecating (cf. *ācamananimittāni*; Sm.C.II.p.260ff.). That a male reference is usually assumed is demonstrated by the ruling that one should perform *ācamana* after touching a woman, or after talking to a woman or a *sūdra* during a meal.

A *śloka* from Yājñavalkya explains how this sipping should be done (*ācamanaprakāra[ḥ]*). ‘Sitting in a clean place, with one’s hands between one’s knees (*antarjānu*), and facing either north or east, a *dvija* should always sip (water) from the base of the thumb (*brahmatīrtha*).’<sup>48</sup> The term *antarjānu* indicates a sitting posture with the knees spread (cf. Gonda 1980:62–3). The *brahmatīrtha* at the base of the thumb is one of several sacred spots on the hand. The others, according to Yājñ.I.19 and Vis.Sm.62.1–4, are the base of the smallest finger (*prājāpatyatīrtha*); the base of the index finger (*pitṛtīrtha*); and the tips of the fingers (*daivatīrtha*). Once again, we have the irony of a ruling for the *dvija* (now reclassified as male) being applied to women (who are consistently grouped with *sūdras*).

More important, Tryambaka omits the usual directives in such contexts (and in that of *mūtrapurīṣotsarga*; cf. Yājñ.I.1.16; Sm.C.II.p.235–6) concerning the sacred thread (*yajñopavīta*). The equivalent instruction in Gautama, for example, reads: sitting in a clean place, placing one’s right arm between one’s knees, and wearing the sacred thread (*yajñopavītī*), one should wash both

47. *śaucānantaram ācamanam āha devalah // Sdhp.5r.4. ity evam udhir ā jānu prakṣālyā carāṇau pṛthak / hastau cā maṇibandhābhyaṁ kuryād ācamanam tataḥ // iti // Sdhp.5r.4–5* (Devala) < Sm.M.II.p.221; (Ap.Sm.); Sm.C.II.p.255 (paścād āśite samyataḥ for kuryād ācamanam tataḥ).

48. *ācamanaprakāram āha yajñavalkyah // Sdhp.5r.5–6. antarjānuḥ śucau desa upaviṣṭa uduñmukhaḥ / prāg vā brāhmaṇa tīrthena dvijo nityam upaspr̥set // iti // Sdhp.5r.6–7* (Yājñ.) < Yājñ.I.18; Sm.M.II.p.221; Sm.C.II.p.252; Par.M.I.i.p.234; Śāṅkh.10.5; Vidyārṇava 1979:14.

hands as far as the wrist . . . and so on (Gaut.I.1.35; Par.M.I.i. p.235). Haradatta glosses *yajñopavītī* in two ways: first, as having the sacred thread in its normal place (over the left shoulder, cf. Manu II.63; Gobh.gr.I.2.2); and alternatively, as referring to the arrangement of one's upper garment (*athavottarīyavinyāśārtham*). This seems to be yet another example of a reference to an initiated person being reinterpreted so that it can be applied to the uninitiated. However, Haradatta proceeds to quote Baudh.I.5.15.1, according to which one should be *yajñopavītī* on a number of different occasions including during the *ācamana* ritual, and as he does so the alternative interpretation seems increasingly inappropriate. Yet Bühler has preferred this second interpretation in his translation of both passages (1975:54, 180–1). Tryambaka, however, has done his best to avoid the issue altogether. But even the quotation he has selected (Yājñ.I.18; see note 48) includes the term *dvija*, glossed in the *Mitākṣarā* as *na śūdrādih*, an expression that surely excludes women too.

Nonetheless, it is obvious that neither Tryambaka nor Yājñavalkya wish to prevent women or *śūdras* from performing the *ācamana* ritual. For at the end of this subsection, Tryambaka quotes Yājñ.I.21 to declare that 'dvijas are purified by water reaching the heart, throat and palate respectively; women and *śūdras* by merely touching it once.'<sup>49</sup> The second half of this *śloka* is the other example of rulings specific to women given in Tryambaka's introduction (section I, p. 40, note 26). The last phrase (*sakṛt sprṣṭābhīr antataḥ*) has been variously interpreted, as has the equivalent phrase of Manu II.62 (*śūdraḥ sprṣṭābhīr antataḥ*). *Antataḥ* is glossed either as *antena* meaning 'at the extremity (of mouth or lips)', or as *antar-gatena* meaning 'inside (the mouth, Mit.)'. Kullūka specifies that water need only touch the extremity of the tongue and lips (cf. Apar.), even if it does not reach the throat; Rāghavānanda the tip of the tongue; Nandana the outside edge of the lips. Rāmacandra prefers the more straightforward and strictly grammatical interpretation of 'finally' to indicate that (although *strī* is not in fact specified in the Manu quotation) women and *śūdras* constitute

49. *yājñavalkyah hr̥tkan̥thatālugābhiś ca yathāsamākhyam dvijātayah // śuddhyerān strī ca śūdras ca sakṛt sprṣṭābhīr antataḥ // iti // Sdhp.5r.10–5v.1 (Yājñ.) < Yājñ.I.21; Par.M.I.i.p.236; Sm.M.II.p.222. Cf. Manu II.62; Viś.Sm.62.9; Saṅkh.10.4. Cf. section I, p.40, note 26.*

the last *varna* category.<sup>50</sup> Whichever interpretation is accepted, however, women are entitled to perform *ācamana*. But, once again, both the intrinsic impurity of *sūdras* and the lower standards of purification required of them are ascribed to women.

Tryambaka quotes two further *ślokas* on the water to be used for sipping (*ācamanārtham udakam*). First, according to Parāśara, 'one should sip water that has been "drawn up" (i.e. from a well or river or other source of fresh water), free of foam or bubbles, neither heated by fire nor brackish (*akṣāra*: glossed by Nand. on Viś.Sm. 62.5 as "any bad water").'<sup>51</sup> Or, to use Yājñavalkya's phrase, one should use water in its natural state (*prakṛtisthābhīḥ*; Yājñ.I.20). The second *śloka*, attributed to Pracetas, adds two exceptions (*viśeṣam*). First, 'according to the wise, (*ācamana* has the desired) purifying effect at night even when one uses water one cannot see.' Secondly, 'hot water (is allowed) in the case of sick people who are in the habit of drinking hot water.'<sup>52</sup> The latter point refers to the traditional view, based on āyurvedic practices, that people suffering from fever (*jvara*) should drink hot water and never cold. In such a state, it is believed that one should observe a strict fast; only water is allowed, and this should be boiled and served warm on the grounds that cold water heightens fever (Jolly 1901:70–4).

Tryambaka does not concern himself with the mass of rules relating to when sipping should be done (*ācamananimittāṇi*; e.g. Sm.C. II.p. 260 ff.); when it should be done twice (*dvirācamananimittāni*; e.g. Sm.C.II.p.264 ff.); nor the various exceptions and prohibitions relating to it (e.g. Sm.C.II.p.265 ff.).

50. *kanṭham aprāptābhīr api sūdro jihvaṣṭhāntenāpi sprṣṭābhīr adbhiḥ pūto bhavati* // Kull. on Manu II.62. *antato jihvāgreṇa* // Rāgh. on Manu II.62. *antato 'utenāsyāntenausṭhenety arthaḥ* // Nand. on Manu II.62. *strī ca sūdras cāntataḥ varṇāntataḥ sprṣṭābhīḥ adbhiḥ pūyate* // Rāmac. on Manu II.62.

51. *ācamanārtham udakam viśināsti parāśarah* // Sdhp.5r.7. *adbhiḥ samud-dhṛtābhīs tu hīnābhīḥ phenabudbudaiḥ / vahninā ca na taptābhīr akṣārābhīr upaspr̄ṣet* // *iti* // Sdhp.5r.8–9 (Par.) < Par.M.I.i.p.236 (na ca for ca na; Śāikh.); Sm.M.II.p.222 (*taptābhīr na* for *taptābhīr*; Śāikh.); Sm.C.II.p.253 (Śāikh.10.6; Yājñ.I.20; Manu II.61; Gobh.gr.1.2.22–23).

52. *viśeṣam āha pracetāḥ* // Sdhp.5r.9. *rātrāv avīkṣitenāpi śuddhir uktā maniṣinām / udakenāturāṇām ca iathoṣnenosnapāyinām* // *iti* // Sdhp.5r.9–10 (Pracetas) < Sm.M.II.p.223 (Yama); Sm.C.II.p.254 (*avīkṣitenāiva* for *avīkṣi-tenāpi*; Yama).

*Cleaning the teeth (dantadhāvanam; Sdhp.5v.1-9)*

According to *Sat.Br.X.5.2.11-12*, the mouth is clammy in the morning because the two internal deities that live in the eyes (cf. section IIC, p.215 below) have been making love all night and shedding seed. Tryambaka merely remarks that, according to Atri, 'when the mouth is stale (i.e. after the night's sleep), men (*narāḥ*, superordinate) are always impure; one should therefore chew on (lit. 'eat') either a green (lit. 'moist') or a dry teeth-cleaning twig.'<sup>53</sup> This is still the practice in villages today, and even in towns teeth-cleaning sticks are sold on busy railway stations. In terms of *āhnikā*, it is an independent ritual act rendering the mouth (as opposed to the whole body) pure. It is therefore not simply a part (*aṅga*) of the morning bath (cf. *Vir.Ā.p.121*).

In comparison with other *smṛti* sections on teeth-cleaning twigs, Tryambaka's is brief. In *Viṣ.Sm.61*, for example, there are detailed rules concerning the types of twig that may or may not be used, varying from those of particular trees (cf. *Br.Saṃ.85*) to those with particular qualities (sweet, sour, withered, perforated, smelly, smooth and so on). Even more surprising is Tryambaka's omission of the gender specific rules concerning the appropriate length of a teeth-cleaning twig. According to *Viṣ.Sm.61.16*, the twig should be as thick as one's little finger and twelve *aṅgulas* long. The *Smṛticandrikā*, however, quotes Garga to prove that the length of the twig should vary according to one's *āśrama* and gender: ten *aṅgulas* for a brahmin, nine for a *kṣatriya*, eight for a *vaiśya*, seven for a *sūdra*, and four for a woman (*Sm.C.II.p.278*). If one takes this to be the usual diminishing scale of ritual purity, then even high-caste women are now not equal to but inferior to the *sūdra* male. Perhaps Tryambaka did not wish to go that far.

For an alternative to the teeth-cleaning twig, Tryambaka turns to the *Smṛtyarthasāra*. 'One may clean one's teeth with one's fingers but one should avoid using the index finger; strong teeth

**53.** *atha dantadhāvanam // Sdhp.5v.1. tatrātriḥ // mukhe paryusite nityam bhavanty aprayatā narāḥ / tad ādrakāṣṭham śuskaṁ vā bhaksayed danta-dhāvanam // Sdhp.5v.1-2 (Atri) < Par.M.I.i.p.252 (bhavaty aprayato narāḥ for bhavanty aprayatā narāḥ; Atri); Sm.M.II.p.240 (as Par.M.; °dhāvane for °dhāvanam; Atri); LaghuŚāt.74 (as Par.M.; *tasmāt saryaprayatnena* for *tad ādrakāṣṭham śuskaṁ vā*); Sm.C.II.p.276 (Śāt.; as LaghuŚāt).*

are formed by using the middle finger, the fourth (or ring-) finger, or the thumb.<sup>54</sup> The arbitrary nature of this ruling becomes evident when it is compared with similar pronouncements in the *Smṛti-candrikā*. The latter explains, for example, both that one may not use one's fingers except the thumb and fourth finger; and that one may use grass, leaves, water or one's fingers, but not the fourth finger (Sm.C.II.p.272 ff.).

The days on which one should not clean one's teeth (*varjadivasā[h]*) are listed in a *śloka* that Tryambaka attributes to Viṣṇu. 'One should avoid cleaning one's teeth on a day when offerings are made to the dead, on one's birthday, on the day of a marriage, when one is suffering from indigestion (*ajīrṇa*), when one is observing a vow (*vrate*), and on a fast day.'<sup>55</sup> Since these rulings concern matters of ritual rather than bodily purity, we may assume that on the days mentioned, although the stale taste of morning may persist in the mouth, it will not render one ritually impure.

Tryambaka explains that 'since the above prohibition on teeth-cleaning on a fast day applies (as it stands; i.e. assuming the *ūha* of gender) to women as well as to men, Manu adds a modifying rule for women.'<sup>56</sup> It runs as follows. 'None of these are polluting to women on a fast day: flowers, ornaments, clothes, perfume, ointment, cleaning the teeth and collyrium (for the eyes).'<sup>57</sup> The implication is that a man undergoing a fast is polluted by these things. However, according to Tryambaka's next quotation, attributed to Viṣṇu, this modification is itself modified if a woman's husband is away (*prośitabhartrikāṇam višeṣam*): the prohibition

54. *smṛtyarthasāre* // *aṅgulyā dhāvayed dantān varjayet tu pradeśinūm , madhyamānāmikāṅguṣṭhair dantadārdhyam bhavaty api* // Sdhp.5v.3-4 (Sm.A.) Sm.A.p.25 (*jīrṇaparṇodakenāṅgulyā vā dantān dhāvayet pradeśinī varjyam . . .*); Sm.M.II.p.244 (*duntadhāvo* for *dantadārdhyam*; Sm.A.).

55. *varjadivasāñ āha viṣṇuh* // Sdhp.5v.4. *śrāddhe janmadine caiva vivāhe jīrṇadoṣataḥ / vrate caivopavāse ca varjayed dantadhāvanam* // iti // Sdhp.5v.4-5 (Viṣṇu) < Sm.C.II.p.277 (*jīrṇadūṣitah* for *jīrṇadoṣataḥ*; *prete* for *vrate*; Yama); Sm.M.II.p.243 (*“dūṣitah* for *“doṣataḥ*; Sm.C.).

56. *anena vacanena upavāse puruṣāñām iva dantadhāvananisēdhe prāpte strīnām višeṣam āha manuh* // Sdhp.5-6.

57. *puspālankāravastriṇi tathā dhūpānulepanam / upavāse na dusyanti dantadhāvanam añjanām* // iti // Sdhp.5v.6-7 (Manu) < Nirṇ.I.p.20 (Manu); Sm.M.II.p.244 (*strīyā* for *tathā*; *“dhāvanavarjanam* for *“dhāvanam añjanam*; Manu).

on teeth-cleaning is reapplied (cf. section IV, p. 291). Thus, 'if her husband is away, a woman should not eat on a day when offerings are made to the dead, or on the day of a sacrifice, or when she is observing a vow (*niyame*); and in this context "she should not eat" means "she should not clean her teeth."<sup>58</sup> The gloss derives from the fact that the twig is chewed at one end to form a brush with which the teeth are cleaned.

This issue of teeth-cleaning, never clearly spelled out, seems to involve three quite distinct aspects, each relevant at the appropriate time and to the appropriate individual. First, as mentioned above, it is an independent ritual act to make the mouth pure after the night's sleep. If this is not done, one remains ritually impure, and thus unable to participate in the ritual aspects of the coming day. In the case of women, the matter is somewhat confused by the well-known saying that a woman's mouth is always pure (Manu V.130). However, as I explain in section III in relation to Tryambaka's discussion of the unique purity of women, this means merely that a woman's mouth is always pure for her husband to kiss. If this were not so, he would too easily render himself impure. But this is a special case. It is not designed to excuse women from the ritual act of cleaning their teeth in the early morning. We may also note in passing that the saying arose because of the general assumption that women are *a priori* impure; hence the need to make an exception for the intimate relations of husband and wife. There is no equivalent assumption concerning the impurity of men and therefore no need for a parallel statement that a man's mouth is always pure for his wife to kiss.

Secondly, cleaning the teeth is a sensual pleasure. The Vedic student, for example, is enjoined to avoid such pleasures as sleeping on a bed, cleaning his teeth, bathing for pleasure, applying collyrium to his eyes or ointments to his body, wearing shoes or carrying a parasol (Vas.VII.15). Gautama too specifies both bathing and cleaning the teeth among the pleasures to be avoided by the Vedic

**58.** *prosītabhartrkānām viśeṣam āha viṣṇuh // Sdhp.5v.7. śrāddhe yajñe ca niyame nādyāt prosītabhartrkā / nādyāt dantadhāvanam na kuryād ity arthaḥ // iti // Sdhp.5v.8 (Viṣṇu) < Sm.M.p.244 (first half-śloka only; Mādha-vīya); Par.M.I.i.p.253 (first half-śloka only; *niyamān* for *niyame*; Vyāsa); Sm.C.II.p.277 (first half-śloka only; *patyau ca prosīte tathā* for *nādyāt prosītabhartrkā*; Vyāsa).*

student; the others include honey, meat, perfumes, garlands, sleeping in the daytime, playing musical instruments, dancing and singing (I.2.19). Haradatta glosses *snānam* as 'bathing for pleasure' (*sukhārtham uṣṇatoyādinā kanṭhād adhah prakṣālanam*); *dantadhāvanam* as 'removing dirt from the teeth' (*dantamalāpakaṛṣanam*). Both are described as bodily rather than ritual acts, performed for obvious (*dr̥ṣṭa*) not otherworldly (*adṛṣṭa*) reasons. Āp.I.2.7.11 declares simply that the Vedic student should be dusty (*rajasvalo malinagātrah*, Ujj.); and that he should have dirty teeth (*raktadan*, 'having red or discoloured teeth', a Vedic form, glossed by Ujj. as *pakvadanta[h]*, 'decaying teeth'). Even after the student has completed his Vedic studies, he may not indulge in such sensual pleasures in his teacher's presence. Thus if his teacher visits him or if he visits his teacher, he may not wear garlands, oil his hair, wear a turban or shoes and so on, or clean his teeth until he is once more out of his teacher's sight (Āp.I.2.8.1–5). Clearly, this is the context in which to understand the prohibitions on teeth-cleaning given by Tryambaka. On a *śrāddha* day, on a day when one is observing a vow or fast (in the case of men), one should not indulge in the sensual pleasure of cleaning the teeth.

But this does not explain why the rule for fasting should supersede the usual *āhnikā* rule for teeth-cleaning only with respect to men. The ruling makes sense, however, if we allow a third aspect to the issue of teeth-cleaning: that of making oneself attractive, an aspect that seems to be applied more regularly to women than to men. Since women are expected to make themselves attractive as long as their husbands are around, the rule for fasting is waived in their case. But as soon as their husbands go away, the wife need (indeed, should) no longer make herself attractive: the rule for fasting is reimposed and therefore she should not clean her teeth (see section IV, p. 291). We may also note that cleaning the teeth is one of the many activities to be avoided by the menstruating woman until after her ritual bath on the fourth day (see section IV, pp. 286–7). Since a man is not supposed to have sexual intercourse with his wife at this time, it makes sense that she should not make herself attractive to him; indeed, as Tryambaka explains in his section on general behaviour, the menstruating woman should keep her mouth hidden from her husband in order to discourage him from polluting himself (Sdhp.23v.3–4 Sk.P.III.2.7.26b–27a; section IV, pp. 273–4).

However, there are two further contradictions here. First, in his list of things to be avoided (*varjanīyāḥ*), Tryambaka rules that austerities (*tapas*) are not to be observed by women (section IV, p. 275, note 7); yet fasting is clearly a form of *tapas*. Secondly, according to Tryambaka (and Manu), marriage is for women the equivalent of *upanayana* for men, and serving her husband the equivalent of serving one's teacher (section I, p.35, notes 15, 16). Yet the behaviour required of the Vedic student is specifically not applied to the married woman except when her husband is away or dead. In fact, only the woman whose husband is away, and the widow, are actually expected to adopt the behaviour and lifestyle of the Vedic student (section IV, pp. 291, 299–300). While the analogy remains an uplifting one, therefore, in practice the wife's service to her husband is equivalent to the student's service to his teacher only when the husband-teacher is no longer there.

Finally, the rule that one who suffers from indigestion (*ajīrṇa*; see note 55) should also not clean his teeth suggests that there is a fourth or āyurvedic aspect to the matter. Other remedies include sleeping in the daytime, and pills or stomach rubs made of pepper, asafoetida and so on (Jolly 1901:77).

#### *The ritual bath (snānam; Sdhp.6v.5–7r.3)*

After a brief section on looking after cows (*gosevanam*; see above, pp. 65–9), Tryambaka proceeds to enumerate the various rulings concerning the pre-dawn ritual bath.<sup>59</sup> Before dealing with these, it is necessary to comment briefly on ritual bathing in general.

First, the bath required for cleansing purposes is called 'dirt-removing' (*malakarṣana*) and is another issue altogether (Sm.C.II. p.290). This is the bath performed 'for pleasure' that is forbidden to the Vedic student (Har. on Gaut.I.2.19; Āp.I.2.7.11; Vas.VII.15). Secondly, the ritual bath is of three kinds: *nitya* (obligatory, i.e. every day); *naimittika* (on particular occasions); and *kāmya* (if one desires particular rewards; cf. Dakṣa II.48; Sm.C.II.p.291). Tryambaka is concerned primarily with *nityasnāna*, the daily bath obligatory to all *varnas* (cf. Baudh.II.4.3b; Sm.A.p.26; Sm.C.II. pp. 291 ff.; only briefly with *naimittikasnāna*; and not at all with *kāmyasnāna*).

The number of obligatory (*nitya*) baths prescribed for a man varies according to his *āśrama*: one for the Vedic student, two for

59. *atha snānam* //Sdhp.6v.5.

householders, two or three for forest hermits, and three for the renunciate (cf. Yājñ.I.95,100, III.48; Manu VI.6, 22; Sm.C.II. p.483; Sm.A.p.26, etc.). If one bathes only once, it must be shortly before dawn; if twice, before dawn and at midday; if three times, before dawn, at midday and shortly before sunset. When we look at the *āhnika* duties set out by Tryambaka for women, however, we see that the midday bath normally prescribed for their husbands is omitted. Since Tryambaka does not draw attention to it, it is not clear whether the omission is significant or not. However, we may also note that, since there is no distinction according to *varna*, women cannot here be grouped together with *sūdras*. By default, therefore, they are now classed with the least advanced *āśrama* for men, that of the (temporary, not perpetual) Vedic student. This recalls, perhaps unintentionally, the claim that marriage for a woman is equivalent to Vedic studentship for a man (Manu II.67; see section I, notes 15,16). If the omission is significant, then this is one of the few aspects of the lifestyle of the Vedic student that the married woman adopts.

Tryambaka's first point, attributed to Viṣṇu, is that 'for brahmins, *kṣatriyas* and *vaiśyas*, the (ritual) bath must be performed with mantras; for *sūdras* and women—O son of the Kurus—it is silent (i.e. without mantras).'<sup>60</sup> According to Baudhāyana, 'bathing in the sense of total immersion (in water) is enjoined as fulfilling all desires; while sprinkling (the body) with water while reciting mantras is restricted to the twice-born.'<sup>61</sup> This is the logical consequence of the exclusion of women from Vedic studentship. Despite the compensatory 'initiation' of marriage, women are classed in ritual terms with the uninitiated. Hence their ritual bath is 'silent': the recitation of mantras is forbidden.

Tryambaka's second point is that 'a woman should not bathe naked'.<sup>62</sup> According to Vyāsa, 'a woman should never be alone, nor

60. *tatra viṣṇuh// brahmakṣatraviśām caiva mantravat snānam isyate/ tūṣṇīm eva hi sūdrasya strīnām ca kurunundana ji iti/ Sdhp.6v.5–6 (Viṣṇu) < Sm.C.II.p.484 (under *mādhyamādinasnānam*; Viṣṇu); Par.I.i.p.271 (Viṣṇu). Cf. Sm.A.p.26.*

61. *bodhāyano pi // apovagāhanam snānam vihitam sārvakāmikam / mantravat prokṣṇām cāpi dvijātīnām viśisyate // iti // Sdhp.6v.6–7 (Baudh.) < Baudh.II.4.3b (sārvavarṇikām for sārvakāmikam).*

62. *nagnyā snānam niśiddham // Sdhp.6v.7–8.*

should she ever bathe naked.<sup>63</sup> This quotation is also included in a longer passage attributed to the *Skandapurāṇa* in the section on general behaviour (Sdhp.23v.7, section IV, pp. 273–4). The first point recalls Manu's remark that a woman should never be independent but always supervised by a man whether father, husband or son (Manu IX.3, V.147–8; Gaut.II.9.1; cf. section IV, p. 276, note 9). It also recalls the warnings that even a learned man should not spend time with a woman alone (e.g. Manu II.213–15). The implication is that a woman alone will either get up to mischief or come to harm. This kind of ruling derives from the view that women are inherently unfaithful, promiscuous and weak-willed, a view that Tryambaka himself discusses (and supports, with qualifications) in his comments on the inherent nature of women (*strīsvabhāva*; see section III). The second point, that one should not bathe naked, is also applied to men; in this context, 'naked' (*nagnah*) is taken to mean a man wearing only one garment (i.e. a loin-cloth) instead of two (e.g. Kull. on Manu IV.45; Nand. on Viṣ.Sm.64.5; Gaut.I.9.60–1, etc.).

The *Smṛtyarthaśāra* provides Tryambaka with a further rule specific to women. 'Whenever a man is required to bathe "with his clothes on" (*sacelam*; i.e. as opposed to with just his lower garment), a woman whose husband is living (*suवासिनी*) should not bathe her head; similarly, if one has a headache or matted hair (one should also not bathe the head).'<sup>64</sup> Curiously, according to āyurveda, while one of the causes of a headache is drinking too much water, one of the treatments is immersing the head in cold (though never hot) water, the opposite of what is stated here (Jolly 1901:118).

*Suवासिनी* means literally 'a woman with fine clothes'. But a word or phrase may have three meanings or functions (*vṛtti*). According to the primary or literal function (*abhidhā* or, for the *mīmāṃsaka*, *śakti*; Nyāyakośa p.854), the statement 'the cowherd's house is on the Ganges' (*gaṅgāyām ghosah*) means that it is magically perched upon the water. According to the secondary or indirect

63. *tathā ca vyāsaḥ // naikākinī kvacid bhūyān na nagnā snāti vai kvacit // iti // Sdhp.6v.8* (Vyāsa) < Sk.P.III.2.7.30b (ca for vai). See also Sdhp.23v.7 (Skānda); section IV, pp. 273–4.

64. *smṛtyarthaśāre viśesa uktah // Sdhp.6v.9. yatra pumsah sacelam syāt snānam tatra suवासिनी / kurvītaivāśirahsnānam śirorogī jaṭī tatha // Sdhp.6v.9–10* (Sm.A.) < Sm.A.p.32 (sacailam for sacelam; kurvatī vā for kurvītaivā, latter given as variant).

function (*lakṣanā*), it is on the bank of the river (*gaṅgātīre ghosah*; *Mīmāṃsākōśa* VI.pp. 3340 ff.). According to the third or suggested function (*vyañjanā*), it is in a cool and sacred place. *Lakṣanā* may also be of two types: that in which the context gives the meaning, as in the example of the cowherd's house; and *nirūḍhalakṣanā*, in which the indirect meaning is now the established one regardless of the context. *Suvāsinī* is in this last category. A widow is not permitted to wear fine clothes (section IV, pp. 299–300); a well-dressed woman therefore cannot be a widow. So engrained are these ideas that the term no longer refers to a woman's clothes at all but solely and directly to her marital state. Similarly, the literal meanings of *subhagā* and *durbhagā* ('fortunate woman' and 'unfortunate woman'; see section IIA, pp. 55–6), have given place completely to the established meanings (*nirūḍhalakṣanā*) of 'woman whose husband is living' and 'widow'. For a woman's good fortune is judged and marked by the survival of her husband. The masculine equivalents of these terms, on the other hand, have no such established meanings: they refer in fact to a man's clothes and his fortune.

As for the reference to washing the head, the widow may well have had her head shaved (an issue that Tryambaka considers in section IV, pp. 303–4). The *suvāsinī*, by contrast, would have a full head of hair, the washing of which would presumably be too time-consuming on a purely ritual occasion. The special occasions on which a man is obliged to bathe 'with his clothes on' (i.e. *naimittikasnānam*) are without exception due to inauspicious and therefore polluting causes: if he has touched an outcaste, a *cāndāla*, a woman who is menstruating or has recently given birth, a corpse and so on (cf. Gaut.II.5.28–30; Manu V.85, 103; Mit. on Yājñ.III.30; Sm.C.I. p.118). Vas.IV.38 specifies that he should submerge both his body and his head. Hence the modifying rule for the married woman, whose hair is invariably long; for the ascetic with long matted hair; and for one suffering from a headache.

Tryambaka's last point in this sub-section explains that 'this bathing should be done in rivers and so on'.<sup>65</sup> In a quotation attributed to the *Harivamśa*, Umā explains to Arundhatī. 'The flowing water of a river is recommended (for bathing), O daughter of Soma; and bathing in a clean tank or pond that is both large and full of fish (or lotuses) is also recommended; but always in daylight. But if this is not possible, if a woman is confined (to the

65. *etac ca snānam nadyādisu kartavyam // Sdhp.6v.10.*

house; for example, when she is pregnant), then she should bathe from an earthenware pot; and she may use the water of nine pots. This is the ancient law.<sup>66</sup> In his comments on pregnancy, Tryambaka adds that a pregnant woman should take her bath with warm water (*koṣṇena vāriṇā*; Sdhp.40r.10–40v.1, section IV, pp. 288–91).

The directive that one should as far as possible bathe in fresh water is frequently given: that is, in rivers, ponds, lakes, water-holes, springs, waterfalls and temple tanks ‘dug by the gods’ (cf. Manu IV.203; Viś.Sm.64.16–17). What is not recommended is bathing in water belonging to someone else, such as a well or a reservoir built by him, for in doing so one partakes of that man’s sin (cf. Manu IV.201–2; Viś.Sm.64.1; Yājñ.I.159). If one is unable to bathe in the right places, then, as Tryambaka explains, one may bathe in one’s own courtyard or house using water from pots. According to Viś.Sm.64.17, however, the most effective water for ritual purposes is that of the Ganges (cf. also Ag.P.155.6); the least effective is that brought in pots.

About the details of the actual bath—the kind of earth to be used for washing, which clothes one may wear, at what point and in what manner one may enter the water, and so on—Tryambaka says nothing. Nor does he give any rulings concerning *tarpana*, the offering of water to the gods, *r̥sis* and ancestors, normally performed as a part (*anga*) of the ritual bath. All the many mantras prescribed for twice-born men are, of course, omitted. Tryambaka also fails to mention *kāmyasnāna*, the ritual bath performed in order to obtain specific rewards. But since this is most often performed when on a pilgrimage to a sacred *tīrtha*, and since Tryambaka discourages both men and women from going on such pilgrimages (see section IIB, pp. 134–7), this omission is not inconsistent. The prohibitions on bathing for the menstruating woman, and the obligation to bathe on the fourth day of her menstrual cycle, are dealt with in section IV, pp. 284–7.

With regard to the nakedness of women, but outside the specific context of bathing, we may note in passing that the term *nagnikā* has an interesting history. Several of the *grhyasūtras* recommend a *nagnikā* bride. The term is defined by Vāikh.6.12 as one between the ages of eight and ten (*aṣṭavarsād ā daśamān nagnikā*). At the

66. *tathā ca harivamśe // arundatūm praty umā //* Sdhp.6v.10–7r.1. *nadijalām prasravaṇam praśastam somanandini / śubhe taṭāke vāpy ādau vistīrṇe jalajāyute / gatvā snānam praśastam tu divaiva khalu sarvadā // alābhe tv avaruddhā strī ghaṭasnānam samācaret / navaiś ca kumbhaiḥ snātavyam vidhir esa sanātanah // iti //* Sdhp.7r.1–3 (Hariv.) <? Not in Hariv. crit. edn. index.

time of the earlier *grhyasūtras*, however, the custom of marrying an adolescent girl was only just beginning to give way to that of child marriage. Thus Gobh.gr.III.4.3–6 makes a general statement about the *gotra* of the (presumably adolescent) bride, then adds as an afterthought that a *nagnikā* is best (*nagnikā tu śreṣṭhā*; v.6). Mān.gr.I.7.8 recommends successively a girl who has not yet experienced sexual intercourse (*kanyām aspr̄ṣṭamaithunām*), who is younger than the groom (*yavīyasīm*), and a *nagnikā*. Aśtāvakra's commentary defines the latter term as 'one who has not yet developed female sexual characteristics' (*apr̄āptastrībhāvām ayauvanarasām*). The reference to sexual inexperience suggests that an adolescent bride was the accepted custom, and thus that the requirement of a *nagnikā* or pre-adolescent girl is an afterthought. If the latter were the rule, the former epithet would—one hopes—be unnecessary. Mātrdatta's commentary on what is almost certainly an incorrect reading of Hir.gr.I.19.2 clearly demonstrates this overlap in marriage customs. Faced with the apparent ruling that a man should marry a bride who is both a *nagnikā* and a *brahma-cāriṇī* (i.e. leading a celibate life), Mātrdatta seeks to evade the contradiction by defining the former as 'one who has begun to menstruate (*nagnikām āsunnārtavām*) and who is therefore fit to throw aside her clothes (*tasmād vastravikṣepanārhhā nagnikā*), that is, fit for sexual intercourse (*maithunārhety arthah*). This obviously contradicts the accepted definition of the term.

In fact, Hir.gr.I.19.2 should read *anagnikā* (Bhandarkar 1893: 151 ff.; Thieme 1971:174). Thieme discusses the implications of both terms. He divides the life of a woman into four stages: *bālyā* ('childhood'; i.e. until menstruation); *kaumāra* ('unmarried girlhood'; i.e. the three years or, according to some, three months following puberty, during which period a husband should be found); *yauvana* ('youth'; i.e. a woman's child-bearing years); and *sthavira* ('old age'; i.e. beyond child-bearing). Hence a woman should be protected by her father in her girlhood (*kaumāre*), by her husband in her married life (*yauvane*), and by her son in her old age (*sthavire*; Vas.V.3; Manu IX.3 etc.). If she reaches the third stage and is still unmarried, she is no longer under her father's supervision: she may find her own husband (Manu IX.90; Vas.17.67–8; alternatively, Vis.Sm.24.40; see also the story of Sāvitrī in section V). *Nagnikā* and *anagnikā* belong to the first two stages. As the *Grhasaṅgraha* (Gobhilaputra's appendix to the *Gobhilagrhyasūtra*) explains, a girl is called *nagnikā* as long as she has not started menstruating (*yāvan na rtumatī bhavet*; 'zu ergänzen: aber kurz davorsteht',

Thieme); she is called *anagnikā* when she has begun menstruating (*ṛtumatī*; 'zu ergänzen: aber erst seit kurzem', Thieme); one should therefore give one's daughter in marriage when she is *anagnikā* ('zu ergänzen: aber nicht schon eine *prāptayauvanā*', Thieme 1971:175; *Gṛhasaṅgraha* II.17). But as the age of marriage dropped from the teens to pre-teens—and even to the age of four (Br.P. 165.7) or five (Par.M.I.ii.p.77, Marīci)—the ideal of an *anagnikā* bride was replaced by that of a *nagnikā*.

The pattern of later texts is the same. The ideal bride is not physically mature and sexually inexperienced but physically immature; a child still young enough to run around 'naked'. According to Vas.XVII.70, for example, a father should give his daughter in marriage while she is still a *nagnikā*; if she remains at home after the onset of menstruation, he will incur the sin of a possible conception lost (cf. *ṛtukāladharmāḥ*, section IV, pp. 287–8). According to Gaut.II.9.21–3, a girl should be given in marriage before she reaches puberty (*prāg ṛtoḥ*); according to some, before she wears any clothes (*prāg vāsasāḥ pratipatter*). According to Sm.C.I.p.213, a girl is called *nagnikā* as long as she does not cover her body out of embarrassment (*yāvan na lajjayāngāni . . . avagūhet*) when in the presence of men (*puruṣasannidhau*). *Āngāni* ('limbs') is glossed as *yonyādīny* ('private parts, etc.'). Alternatively, she is *nagnikā* as long as she need not wear an (upper) garment (*yāvac celam na grhṇāti*), or as long as she does not menstruate (*yāvat ṛtudarśanam*). When nakedness carries such associations, it is hardly surprising that a married woman, even when bathing, is not permitted to be naked.

### *Getting dressed (vastradhāraṇam; Sdhp.7r.3–9)*

Tryambaka begins by quoting from the *Matsyapurāṇa*. 'After bathing in this way, one should perform the ritual of sipping according to the rule, and then, rising up (from the sitting position), one should put on clean white clothes (*vāsasī śukle śuddhe*).'<sup>67</sup> *Vāsasī*, in the dual form, indicates both upper and lower garments. This, together with the requirement to wear white (*śukle*), clearly applies not to women but to men. For women, white is the colour of death,

67. *tato vastradhāraṇam* // Sdhp.7r.3. *tatra matsyapurāṇe* // *evam snātvā tataḥ kuryād ācama ya ca vidhānataḥ / utthāya vāsasī śukle śuddhe tu paridhāya ca* // *iti* // Sdhp.7r.4 (Matsy.P.) < Par.M.I.i.p.262 (*paścād* for *kuryād*; Matsy.P.); Sm.M.II.p.251 (as Par.M.; *vai* for *ca*; Matsy.P.); Sm.C.II.p.296 (as Par.M.; *vidhivat punah* for *ca vidhānataḥ*; *vai* for *ca*; Matsy.P.).

worn by widows (Wood 1980:260; Rai and Singh 1983:84-5; Fuller and Logan 1985:89-92 etc.) and Jaina nuns (many of whom are also widows; Jaini 1979:246, note 8, 262-4, illus.27,28,30; but cf. Reynell 1985:26.4.2.iv). In his comments on widowhood, Tryambaka rules that the widow should not wear dyed garments (*vikṛtam*; glossed by Tryambaka as *mañjistādir anjītam*, 'dyed with Indian madder, etc.'; Sdhp.46r.8) and then describes how the widowed daughters-in-law of Dhṛitarāṣṭra wear 'white garments' (*śuklottarīya*. Sdhp.47[2]r.10 < Mbh.XV.32.15; see section IV, pp. 299-300). The *Mitāksarā*, however, glosses 'white' (*śukle*) as 'washed' (*dhaute*; Mit.on Yājñ.I.131).

With regard to men, although the householder is usually enjoined to wear white garments (e.g. Manu IV.35; Yājñ.I.131), the *Smṛti-candrikā* quotes Bhṛgu (acc. to the Mysore edn.; Garga acc. to Gharpure) to the effect that while a brahmin should wear white, a *ksatriya* should wear red or bright garments, a *vaiśya* yellow ones, and a *sūdra* dark blue or dirty ones (*nīlam malavat*; Sm.C.II.p.298). Cloth died blue with indigo is invariably forbidden (e.g. Āp.Sm.VI. 4 ff.; Mit. on Yājñ.III.292; cf. Sdhp.20 v.10-21r.2). According to Uśanas, black is prohibited; according to Gautama, all dyed cloth is prohibited (Sm.C.II.p.298). But there are no recommendations concerning the colours that a woman should or should not wear.

Another significant difference between the rulings on dress for women and those for men is that only the latter refer to the sacred thread. For example, Āp.II.2.4.22-3 explains that the householder should always wear an upper garment (as well as a lower one); but if he is poor, he need only wear the sacred thread on his upper body. According to Vas.XII.14, the *snātaka* must wear both upper and lower garments and two sacred threads. The rulings for women as explained by Tryambaka make no mention of the sacred thread for the obvious reason that women are now excluded from the *upanayana*, and the 'initiation' of marriage does not really count.

Nor may we find any similarities between the rulings on dress for women and those recommended for the Vedic student (with whom married women are so often compared). For the emphasis in this context is on the material of which the garments are made. The lower garment of the brahmin student should be made of hemp, that of the *ksatriya* of flax, and that of the *vaiśya* of wool, each dyed the appropriate colour. The upper garment should ideally consist of the skin of an animal: the black antelope, the spotted deer, and

the goat or cow respectively (e.g. Manu II.41; Vas.XI.64–7; Ap.I.2.39–I.3.10). What the staff, girdle and thread should be made of in the case of each twice-born *varna* is also discussed (e.g. Manu II.42 ff.). Evidently, none of this is of any relevance to the women of Tryambaka's day.

Since Tryambaka's aim is to give general rules that are, in principle, applicable to both men and women, we must expect to gloss over the anomalies. His second quotation, from Uśanas, seems more straightforward. 'After taking one's bath, one should put on uncontaminated clothes (*anupahatam vastram*), according to the rule.'<sup>68</sup>

The term *anupahata* (lit. 'undamaged') or, more commonly, *ahata* (lit. 'unbeaten') is interesting for, depending on the context, it may have a variety of related meanings. First, since clothes are 'beaten' in the Indian washing process, often with a stick, *ahata* may denote 'unbeaten' or 'unwashed' and therefore dirty clothes. Thus Devala remarks that, when performing rituals, a man should wear cloth he has washed himself (*svayam dhautena*), not that washed by a washerman (*nejakadhautena*), and certainly never cloth that is 'unwashed' (*ahatena*; Sm.C.II.p.299). The second meaning is both more usual and more appropriate to Tryambaka's ruling. According to this interpretation, *ahata* may mean 'unwashed' in the sense of being unused and therefore perfect. The *Smṛticandrikā* gives two definitions along these lines. In the *āhnika* section, *ahata* is said to denote brand-new cloth (*yantranirmuktam*, straight from the loom; Sm.C.II.p.299, Satyatapas). Such cloth should be worn on ritual occasions by the sacrificer and his wife (e.g. Śab. on Jai.X.4.13); it is also appropriate for auspicious rituals such as marriage (Sm.C.II.p.299). Alternatively—in a quotation attributed to Pulastya in the *āhnika* section (Sm.C.II. p. 298) and to Pracetas in the *upanayana* section (Sm.C.I.p.76)—the term denotes cloth that, although washed a little (*īsaddhautam*), is still new and white, with its fringes still intact (*sadaśam*), unworn, and therefore ritually pure (*sarvakarmāsu pāvanam*). In the *upanayana* section, however, the term is applied exclusively to the dress of the (male) brahmin initiate (*śuklam ahataṁ vāso brāhmaṇasya*; Sm.C.I.p.75). When applied by Tryambaka to the daily dress of all orthodox women, it must presumably be under-

68. *uśanā snātvānupahatam vastram paridadhyād yathāvidhi // Sdhp.7r.5*  
(Uśanas) < Sm.M.p.252 (Uśanas).

stood more loosely to denote garments that are in perfect condition, perfectly clean, and therefore ritually pure.

A third possibility is that *ahata* denotes 'undamaged' cloth in the sense that it has never been 'cut' or 'stitched'; that is, the full woven length of the dhoti or sari as opposed to the cut cloth of the bodice or shirt. On these grounds, even today, men are required to remove their shirts before entering the inner sanctum of a temple. Similarly, in some south Indian temples even fifty or sixty years ago, women were required to enter without a blouse (Sanjukta Gupta: personal communication; cf. also Thapliyal 1979:59). This issue gains an added significance in the context of rulings related to whether or not a woman should wear a bodice (see below).

Tryambaka then gives the most important modifying rules (*vastradhārane viśeṣam*) relating to women. He quotes Śāṅkha. '(A woman) should not show her navel; she should wear garments that extend to her ankles; and she should not expose her breasts.'<sup>69</sup> In section IV, this quotation, again attributed to Śāṅkha, is repeated together with the ruling that she should not go outside without an upper garment (*nānuktā grhān nirgacchen nānuttariya . . .*; Sdhp. 22r.9–22v. 1; see p.273). In his comments on widowhood, however, Tryambaka insists that the widow should not wear a bodice (Sdhp. 46r.7–8, section IV, p.299). In this context, therefore, the bodice is one of the marks of the woman whose husband is alive.

A parallel to these rules on how a woman should wear her sari may be found in the rules concerning how a man should wear his dhoti. The latter should be tucked in at three points: near the navel, on the left side, and at the back. A brahmin who does this incorrectly is held to be a *sūdra* (Sm.M.II.p.351–3; Sm.C.II.p.300). However, both the purpose and the emphasis of the two sets of rules are quite different. A man is required to fold and tuck his garment in the 'right' way, presumably for otherworldly or 'unseen' (*adr̥ṣṭa*) reasons; no mention is made of which parts of his body the garment is intended to conceal. But the rules for women give no guidance on how one should fold, wind and tuck the sari. This is especially surprising in view of the fact that there are a number of ways of

69. *vastradhārane viśeṣam āha śāṅkhāḥ* // Sdhp.7r.5. *na nābhīm darsayed ā gulphād vāsaḥ paridadhyām na stanau vivrtau kuryāt* // *iti* // Sdhp.7r.5–6 (Śāṅkh.) < Mit. on Yājñ.I.87; Apar. on Yājñ.I.83; Sm.C.III.p.585–6(*gulphābhyaṁ* for *gulphād*). Not in the Śāṅkh.Sm. See also Sdhp.22r.10–23v.1, p. 273.

wearing the sari and that in Maharashtra (and thus presumably in this Maratha kingdom) the *sakaccha* style was held to be a mark of the upper classes, the *vikaccha* of the lower ones (cf. Altekar 1978:289-91; plates IV,V,VII). The rules concerning a woman's dress merely enjoin which parts of her anatomy she may not reveal: her breasts, her navel and her legs down to the ankle. This is obviously another kind of ruling altogether.

The first point to stress is that the prohibition on showing the ankles can only apply to the wealthier class of woman who is not required to work outdoors. Any visitor to India today will notice that women working in the fields or in the coastal fishing villages wear their saris hoisted well above their ankles so as not to impede their work. In this context, Tryambaka's ruling is a mark of social distinction as well as decorum.

Is this also true of the ruling that a woman should not expose her breasts? *Dharmaśāstra* and *nibandha* literature are in agreement on this point: the breasts should be covered, either by a bodice or by the sari, or by an additional 'upper garment'. In the Gandhāra sculptures, certainly, the women appear fully covered. But how may we account for the many examples of bare-breasted women in the sculptures and paintings of southern and central India?

Is it a matter of caste or class? If (as seems to be the case in the prohibition on showing the ankles) *dharmaśāstra* rulings apply only to the higher or wealthier *varnas*, then one would expect the semi-nude female figures to be of the lower orders such as maid-servants and dancing girls. But this is not so. In the paintings of Ajanta and the sculptures of Bharhut, for example, it is the court ladies and not the maid-servants who are without upper garments, even in public scenes.

It is important to disentangle several related questions here. First, what is the role of the artist (*śilpin*) in Indian society? Secondly, what is the relationship between the artist and the specialist in religious law (*dharmaśāstrin*)? Finally, what may we deduce about the dress of court women in eighteenth-century Thanjavur? In a study of this nature, my answers will of necessity be brief.<sup>70</sup>

With regard to the first question, two artistic conventions seem to be operating at once. According to the realistic convention, the

70. I am grateful to Dr T.S. Maxwell, among others, for discussing these issues with me.

artist portrays social dress and customs as he sees them around him. According to the supernatural convention, he presents mythological figures as conceived by the tradition he espouses. The line between these two conventions is not always clearly drawn. Cōla bronzes, for example, tend to portray the dress of royalty of that period combined with traditional iconographic features (cf. Nagaswamy 1983:46-51, 165-70). Thus the ornaments, head-dress and lower garments worn by Pārvatī seem to reflect the former; the sacred thread presumably belongs to the latter (cf. Nagaswamy 1983:54, 144-5, 168; *The Image of Man* 1982:67; Ions 1967:92; Rowland 1970:328-9; etc.).

But to which convention does her naked upper body belong? We do not deduce from Manet's 'Le Déjeuner sur l'Herbe' either that it was the custom for high-class women to picnic naked amidst fully clothed men or that the lady in question is a courtesan. Do we need to assume from the paintings of Ajanta or the sculptures of Bharhut that women were in the habit of going around half-dressed? It is true that nudes in European art are usually restricted either to mythological characters (e.g. Venus, 'The Three Graces', 'The Judgement of Paris') or to private scenes of bathroom or bedroom (Clouet's 'Lady in the Bath', Manet's 'Olympia', Ingres' 'The Bather of Valpinçon' and 'Odalisque with Slave'). Indeed, Manet's 'Le Déjeuner sur l'Herbe' caused an uproar when it was first shown, precisely because it depicted what was apparently a common public scene. It is perhaps surprising that there is no parallel condemnation of inappropriate semi-nudity in Sanskrit literature. But it has long been the custom in all Indian temple sculpture—Hindu, Buddhist and Jain—to use the half-naked and (according to Western standards of beauty) voluptuous female body as a decorative motif. In the realm of art, the female form is both exposed and extolled.

It is clear that the second question regarding the relationship between *dharmaśāstra* and art is crucial here. Where there were no specific dharmaśāstric guidelines, the artist presumably reproduced what he saw around him. If such guidelines existed, however, it seems unlikely that he would deliberately go against them. On these grounds, therefore, we may suppose that the many representations of women with naked breasts did not contravene the *dharmaśāstra* rulings current at the time.

Judging by Tryambaka's statements, however, by the eighteenth

century, they did. How may we explain this? The question may be approached in two ways: with reference to the different social customs prevalent in north and south India; and in relation to foreign, especially Muslim, influence.

The Ajanta paintings show royal women with naked breasts while female servants wear blouses or dresses. If it was customary for high-class women in the cooler north to wear upper garments and those in the hot south not to, then was Tryambaka simply ruling that the women of the Thanjavur court should adopt the northern rather than the southern habit? Certainly, if women were expected to enter south Indian temples without a blouse (see *ahata* above), this was evidently considered proper female attire. But the issue is by no means clear. Hāla's *Saptasataka*, for example, describes southern women wearing bodices (*kañcukī*; IV.95, VII.20) or upper garments (*dukūla*; IV.69). The significance of the south Indian heat becomes evident in the *Śāhendravilāsa* where the women of Śāhajī's court are described as being torn between wearing bodices for modesty's sake and removing them to keep cool (VII.78–9, 83).

Perhaps the question of foreign influence is more relevant. The bodice (*kañcuka*, *kūrpāsa(ka)*, *colī*) is listed among the 'foreign elements' in Thapliyal's book on the subject and she notes that upper class women were especially influenced by foreign fashions (1979:64–6). In particular, the importance of Muslim influence must be explored. For it is indisputable that as Muslim power and culture descended from the north of India, Islamic ideals of female modesty spread, especially among the ruling classes. Not surprisingly, the sculptures of Bharhut (Śuṅga period, 185–72 B.C.), Sanchi (Śuṅga, early Andhra, later Andhra, 185 B.C.–A.D. 320), Amaravati (especially later Andhra, 25 B.C.–A.D. 320) and Ellora (fifth to eighth centuries A.D.), and the paintings of Ajanta (first century B.C.–seventh century A.D.; Rowland 1970), long precede the invasion of Islam into the Deccan (A.D.1296) and its further descent into southern India (1310; see Leslie 1983(2): appendix B).

It is more difficult to pinpoint the relative chronology of the Saṅkha ruling. Kane assigns the core of the *Śaṅkhadharmaśūtra* to the period 300 B.C.–A.D. 100 (PVK I.i.p.142), but this is not to say that the quotation given here is part of that early compilation. The question of chronology is especially difficult in relation to a text (or texts) known only from quotations. If we look at the works in which this particular ruling is cited, however, we may note that

all three predate the Muslim invasions of the south by at least a hundred years: the *Mitāksarā*, 1100–1120 (PVK I.ii.271; 1120–5, Derrett 1973(I):50); Aparārka's commentary, 1125, Northern Konkaṇa (PVK I.ii. 280; 1115–30, Derrett 1973(I):50); and the *Smṛticandrikā*, the great authority in the south, 1150–1225 (PVK I.ii.286).

But, whatever the relationship between female attire in the largely autonomous court of Thanjavur in the early eighteenth century and Islamic ideals, we may be sure that Tryambaka was a product of his time. Another product of the period is a collection of illustrations entitled *Drawings of the Costumes of the Southern Peninsula of India by a Native of Tanjore*, compiled in 1815 and depicting a man and a woman in each of several categories (David 1815). This shows that women of high status wore bodices (e.g. 'Rajapoot . . . Rajawar . . . Kharkana brahmin . . . Mogul . . . priestess' etc.). A mid-way category shows women without bodices but covering their breasts with the loose end of the sari often worn in the *sakaccha* style (e.g. 'oilmonger . . . brahmin? . . . Sathare . . . a kind of brahmin . . . Vishnu brahmin' etc.). Finally, women of low status leave the breasts uncovered altogether ('shoemaker . . . well-digger . . . conjurer . . . marava . . . washerman . . . weaver' etc.). Tryambaka is surely making a similar point.

He also rules that '(a woman) should not dress herself and so on while her husband is watching.'<sup>71</sup> The following two *ślokas* are attributed to Vyāsa. 'If her beloved (husband) is watching, she should neither anoint (her head) with oil, bathe, massage unguents (e.g. sandalwood paste; see plate 2) into her body, clean her teeth, arrange her hair, eat, vomit, sleep, dress, nor beautify herself in any way (*prārambham mandanānām*).'<sup>72</sup> The phrase *prārambham mandanānām* covers clothes, ornaments, oils and so on. The last *śloka* is quoted again when Tryambaka deals with the proper behaviour of the wife when she is eating (see section II.C, p. 226, note 116). There is no parallel ruling that a man should not dress himself in the presence

71. *vastradhāraṇādikam paśyati patyau na kartavyam // Sdhp.7r.6–7.*

72. *tathā ca vyāsah // tailābhyaṅgam tathā snānam śarīrodvartanakriyām / mārjanām caiva dantānām alakānām prasādhanām // bhojanām vamanām nigrām paridhānām ca vāsasām / prārambhaṇām mandanānām ca na kuryāt paśyati priye // iti // Sdhp.7r.7–9 (Vyāsa) < Sm.M.I.p.157 (Vyāsa). Cf. section II.C, p.226, note 116.*

of his wife; nor even a general rule that might be applied to both husband and wife.

*Wearing the tilaka mark (tilakadhāraṇam; Sdhp.7r.9–7 v.9)*

Tryambaka's next concern is to show that putting the auspicious *tilaka* mark on the forehead is a necessary part of the wife's toilette (plate 5). In doing so, he lists all the other things that indicate that a woman's husband is still alive; a description, in fact, of the *suvāsinī* (see pp. 84–5). The two *ślokas*, attributed here to Mārkandeya, are also to be found in Tryambaka's encyclopaedic commentary on the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Dharmākūṭa*; they are attributed there to Vyāsa and are part of a lengthy comment on the *tilaka* metaphor given below. The same two *ślokas* are attributed to Aśvalāyana in the section on general behaviour (Sdhp.22v.5–7; see section IV, pp. 273–4); and to the *Skandapurāṇa* as quoted in the *Madanaratna* in Sdhp.41r.5–7 (in an altered form to apply to the pregnant woman; see section IV, pp. 288–91). They read as follows.

'The devoted wife (*pativrata*) who wishes her husband to live long should not neglect (*dūṣaye[t]*; lit. "cause to be polluted") these things: *haridrā* (i.e. *haldi*, yellow turmeric powder; put between the eyebrows and used as an unguent); collyrium (or lamp-black, for the eyes; plate 3); *kunkuma* (saffron or a reddish paste; to make the *tilaka* mark on the forehead; also used as an unguent); *sindūra* (saffron or a red powder; to mark the parting of the hair); the short-sleeved bodice; betel (to make the lips red and the breath fresh; a late idea, cf. PVK II.ii.p.734; cf. also Kām.I.4.16); the auspicious ornament (of marriage, *maṅgalyābharaṇam*; i.e. the *maṅgalasūtra*); and the adorning of ears, hands and carefully styled hair (i.e. with ornaments, flowers and so on; plate 4).'<sup>73</sup>

73. *tāsāṁ tilakadhāraḥam āha mārkandeyah // Sdhp.7r.9. haridrāṁ kajalam caiva sindūram kunkumam tathā / kūrpāsakam ca tāmbūlam maṅgalyābharaṇam śubham // keśasamśkārakabarikarakarnavibhūṣanam / bhartur āyuṣyam icchanti dūṣayen na pativrata // iti // Sdhp.7r.9–7v.1 (Mārk.) < Sk.P.III.2.7.28–9 (kunkumam for kajalam; kajalam for kunkumam; keśasamśkārakam caiva karakarnādibhūṣanam); Dharmāk.III.p.93, lines 17–19 (Vyāsa); Sm.M.I.p.157 (kunkumam for kajalam; kajalam for kunkumam; °kan̄tha° for °karṇa°; Vyāsa). See also section IV, pp. 273–4 (Sdhp.22v.5–7; haridrākajalam for haridrāṁ kajālam; Āsv.); section IV, pp. 288–9 (Sdhp.41r.5–8; dūrayed garbhīṇī na hi for dūṣayen na pativrata; madanaratne skānde).*

*Haridrā* is the yellow substance with which deities are smeared, especially Ganeśa as *Haridrāgaṇapati*. It is believed to be a mark of good fortune, one that could ward off demons (Stutley 1977:110). It is also one of the signs that a woman is (once more) available to her husband for, as Tryambaka himself explains (section IV, pp. 286–7), she should anoint her body with unguents of *haridrā* and *kunkuma* after she has taken her ritual bath on the fourth day of menstruation. Collyrium, obtained by inverting a small earthenware dish over a sooty flame, is applied to the inner eyelid to outline the eyes and exaggerate their length. Since it makes a woman attractive, it is prohibited to the menstruating woman (section IV, pp.284–5), the woman whose husband is away (p.291), and the widow (pp.299–300). According to Meulenbeld (1974:438), two different substances are used: one for medicinal, the other for cosmetic purposes. Saffron was used originally for both *kunkuma* and *sindūra*, that is, for both the *tilaka* mark on the forehead and the red line in the hair parting; but nowadays a less expensive red powder or paste is used. The *tilaka* is usually a round dot, although this may vary according to family or caste tradition: the women of Vai in Maharashtra, for example, wear the *tilaka* as a horizontal red line. The *sindūra* is more commonly associated with north Indian women and is rarely found in Tamil Nadu today (cf. Fuller and Logan 1985:90). Both *tilaka* and *sindūra* indicate that a woman is married and her husband lives. For example, a Khajuraho inscription dated A.D. 953 describes how enemies were killed and their wives thereby deprived of the use of *sindūra* (cf. Altekar 1978:301).

As mentioned above (p.90), the short-sleeved bodice, worn under the sari by married women, is traditionally not worn by the widow (see section IV, p. 299). Betel, ornaments and flowers make a woman attractive: like collyrium, they should be avoided by the menstruating woman, the woman whose husband is away, and the widow (see section IV, pp. 284–5, 291, 299–300). Complicated hair-styles (e.g. Altekar 1978: plates VIII–XI; Nagaswamy 1983:46–51,158,165–70) are also prohibited to the widow either because her head is shaved, or her hair close-cropped, or alternatively because she must wear it in a simple bun (see section IV, pp. 299–300, 303–4). The menstruating woman, on the other hand, should not comb her hair (see p. 284).

The *māngalasūtra*, the auspicious thread on which beads (usually black or gold) are strung, is fastened around the neck of the bride by the groom during the marriage ceremony (cf. PVK II.i.537). Chapter XV of the *Laghvāśvalāyanasmṛti* describes the sacrament of marriage in detail and provides the earliest reference to the marriage thread (*māṅgalyatantu*, v.33; Dh.kośa III.iii.p.2048). Mantras are recited to ensure the wife's fidelity to her husband and Gaurī bestows *saubhāgya* on the bride. *Saubhāgya* originally and literally meant 'good fortune' or 'prosperity', but it came to have as its established meaning (*virūḍhalakṣanā*) the good fortune of the happily married woman whose husband is alive. The prefix *sau*, with which the married woman is addressed, stands for *saubhāgyavatī*, meaning 'fortunate woman' (i.e. by virtue of her marriage; Baudh.gr.I.6.30). The *māngalasūtra*, the *tilaka*, and the red line of *sindūra* in the hair, are all indispensable signs of the married woman whose husband is alive; as long as he lives, they must be worn.

Both the famous *tilaka* metaphor from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and Tryambaka's comment on it are taken from his own work. As he himself explains, 'that is why (wearing the *tilaka* is specified) in the *Dharmākūta* (commentary) written by me on the *Rāmāyaṇa*'.<sup>74</sup> He begins by quoting Rām. III.8. 'When the sun resolutely remains in the direction frequented by Death (Yama; thus the south), then the northern direction like a woman without her *tilaka* does not shine'.<sup>75</sup> The *Dharmākūta* explains. 'The lady, in the form of the northern direction, whose husband—husband of the directions, jewel of the day (the sun)—has gone to the south (has died) is described as not wearing the *tilaka*. Therefore the lack of *tilaka* and so on is the defining mark of the widow (*vidhvavāyā laksanam*). (Correspondingly), wearing the *tilaka* and so on is the defining mark of the woman whose husband is alive (*suवासिनीं laksanam*)'.<sup>76</sup> The image is drawn from the division of

74. *ata evāsmatkrtarāmāyaṇadharmaṅkute* // Sdhp.7v.1–5.

75. *sevamāne dṛḍham sūrye diśam antakasevitām / vihīnatilakeva stri nottarā dik prakāśate* // Sdhp.7v.1–2 (Dharmāk.) < Rām.III.8; Dharmāk. III.p.93, lines 9–10 (v.8).

76. *atra dīnñāyakasya dinamaner antakudeśagamanaprayuktatayā/[ ] uttara-digrūpāyā nāyikāyā vihīnatilakatvapratipādanena tilakādyabhāvo vidhvavāyā laksanam / tilakādimattvam suवāsinīnam laksanam iti sūcītam* // Sdhp.7v.3–5 (Dharmāk.) < Dharmāk.III.p.93, lines 11–13 (pratyuktatayā for *prayuktatayā*).

the year into two parts: *dakṣināyana*, when the sun 'abides in' (or, more accurately, when the ecliptic tends towards) the south, during which time the days become shorter and the nights longer; and the *uttarāyana*, when the sun 'abides in' the north and the days become longer once more. In *dakṣināyana*, the sun sets in a more southerly direction, leaving the northern sky dark. At such times, the northern direction, bereft of the sun's rays, does not 'shine'. Similarly, a wife whose husband has died is bereft of the *tilaka* mark that radiates her good fortune and so she too, as it were, no longer shines.

In order to put these rulings concerning the *tilaka* for women into perspective, let us consider the equivalent rulings for men. In the *Viramitrodaya* (Vir.Ā.p.248–52) and in the *Smṛtimuktā-phala* (Sm.M.II,p.292–310), for example, elaborate rules are laid down for the marks to be made on a man's forehead after his bath. Whether called *tilaka* or *pundra(ka)*, these are evidently sectarian marks intended to indicate the religious persuasion of the wearer. The *ūrdhvapundra* or *ūrdhvatalaka* (a vertical mark of one or more lines) indicates the follower of Viṣṇu; the *tripundra* (three horizontal lines) that of Śiva. According to the *Smṛticandrikā*, the *ūrdhvapundra* may be made with earth taken from a selection of sacred spots such as the top of a mountain or the bank of a sacred river. There are rulings on how the mark should be made (with which fingers, etc.), what it should look like, and on which twelve parts of the body it should be placed (on the forehead, chest, throat, arms, etc.; Sm. C.II.pp.302 ff.; *Vrddhahārītasmṛti* II.58–72). Saṅkh.gr.II.10.6 gives the five parts of the body that should be marked with the *tripundra* in sacred ash. Elsewhere, we read that the *ūrdhvapundra* is made with earth after one's bath; the *tripundra* with sacred ash after performing *homa*; the (circular) *tilaka* in sandalwood paste after worshipping the gods (*devapūjā*; PVK II.i.p.673). There are even rulings on the size and shape of the *tilaka* or *pundra* according to a man's *varna*: like a bamboo leaf for a brahmin; like a fish for a *ksatriya*: smaller still for a *vaiśya*; and like a half-moon for a *sūdra* (*Viramitrodaya* on Yājñ.I.20–21; Gharpure 1936).

Tryambaka's section on the *tilaka* for women explains none of this. The sectarian marks so important to men are deemed irrelevant to their wives. In the next quotation from Vasiṣṭha (see below), there is a brief reference to the *pundraka* or sectarian mark; but that is all. The remaining references to the *tilaka* have no relation

to either Viṣṇu or Śiva. The mark is made with neither sacred earth, sacred ash, nor sandalwood paste, but with *kunkuma*, the sign of a woman's marital happiness or *saubhāgya*. For the *tilaka* is the visible symbol of a woman's religious allegiance as distinct from that of men. It declares first that her husband is her deity; secondly, that he is still alive to receive her daily service and worship. As we have seen, the bulk of the rulings on a woman's appearance carry the same message: her husband lives; all religious devotion must be directed to him alone. A man without his sectarian mark is a man without a god; a woman without her *tilaka* is one whose god is dead.

The next four *ślokas* are also taken from the *Dharmākūta*; in both texts, they are attributed to the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā*. 'The short bodice (*kañcukī*), the marriage necklace (*kanthasūtram*), a pair of earrings, collyrium, glass bangles, anointing with turmeric (*haridrā*) and putting the sectarian mark (*pūṇḍraka*) on the forehead, arranging the hair, wearing ornaments on one's feet and nose, betel and so on—all these are declared to be the marks of women who have been blessed with good fortune (*pūnyayositām*; i.e. they are not widows). If a woman wears glass ornaments at wrist and throat, her behaviour is meritorious; and her cooking is said to be pure.'<sup>77</sup> 'If she does not wear glass ornaments at wrist and throat, she is understood to be a widow (i.e. in this life) and (she will also become a widow) in life after life.'<sup>78</sup>

Glass bangles (a late development; cf. Altekar 1978:298) are another indispensable sign of the married woman whose husband is alive. When he dies, she breaks them (e.g. Wood 1980:172; Jameson 1976:251; etc.). The ritual purity of a woman's cooking is important for eating itself; for the ritual of eating (see Parāskara's *Bhojanasūtra*, traditionally learned by heart and followed to the

77. *tathā ca vasiṣṭhasaṃhitāyām// kañcukī kanthasūtram ca karnapatre tathāñjanam / kācakābharanām caiva haridrāsnānapūṇḍrakam // keśprasādhanām caiva pādanāsāvibhūṣanam / tāmbūlādīni lakṣmāḥi procyante pūnyar yositām // manibandhe ca kanthē ca kācakābharanāir yutā / sā nārī pūnyacariā tasyāḥ pākah śuciḥ smṛtāḥ // Sdhp.7v. 5–8 (Vas.) < Dharmāk.III.p.93, line 20—p.94, line 1. (*kañcukam* for *kañcukī*; *saut du même au même* from *kācakābharanām* *caiva* to *keśprasādhanām* *caiva*; Vas.).*

78. *karamūle kanthamūle kācakābharanavarjita / sā nārī vidhavā jñeyā janmajanmāntaresv api// iti// Sdhp.7v.8–9 (Vas.) < Dharmāk.III.p.93, lines 14–15 (Vas.).*

letter by young initiates; LSJ): and for the ritual of offering food to the deity. The cooking of a high-caste married woman whose husband is living is pure. If she is menstruating, however, it is not: hence the prohibition (see section IV, p. 284). In the case of a widow, in Maharashtra as in other parts of India, if she shaves her head, her cooking is deemed pure; if she does not, it is unacceptable (LSJ). To say that a woman wears glass bangles and necklace is thus to say that her husband is alive; that in turn is a mark of her virtue and purity; hence her cooking is pure.

Nose- and toe-rings seem to be another late development. Altekar notes the conspicuous absence of the nose-ring in sculpture and painting throughout India before the Muslim invasions. He concludes that it was originally a Muslim ornament (1978:301 ff.; cf. PVK II.i.537). By the time of Tryambaka, however, it was another indispensable sign of *saubhāgya*.

To conclude, the rules on dress for a man classify him in religious terms. The sacred thread is a mark of the twice-born, one who has undergone initiation followed by years of religious education. The colours of his garments and the way they are worn show his *varna*. The symbols on his forehead mark his sectarian allegiance. These are the signs of the religious status of a man, his reward for merit accumulated in past lives, and so now his innate virtue and purity. Similarly, the rules on dress for a woman classify her in religious terms, but in a markedly different way. That she is a woman is itself a demerit earned in a previous life (see section III, pp. 246-72). All the rulings on dress, however, imply compensatory merits. Her entire appearance, from the flowers in her hair to the rings on her toes, signify that her personal deity is alive. That in itself is proof of her religious virtue, her ritual purity and thus of her authority in the home.

## IIB At Dawn (Sdhp. 7v.9–10v.1)

*Serving the sacred fire* (*agniśūśrūṣā*; Sdhp. 7v.9–10r.6)

The word *śūśrūṣā* is well chosen. In this context, it is a general term denoting the practical aspects of the fire sacrifice. It thus covers both the *śrauta* and *grhya* rituals detailed below. Secondly, it carries with it all the associations of religious service and devotion. For example, the brahmin who chooses to be a perpetual student is instructed to ‘serve’ his teacher diligently all his life (*paricaret*, Manu II.243; glossed by Sarv. as *śūśrūset*). If his teacher dies, then he should ‘serve’ his teacher’s son, his widow or *sapindā* relation (Manu II.247; *guruvac chuśrūṣām anutis̄het*, Kull.). If none of these are alive, he should spend the rest of his life ‘serving’ the sacred fire (*agniśūśrūṣā*; Manu II.248). Thirdly, the term reinforces the associations of obedience, subservience and attentiveness suggested by *bhartṛ-śūśrūṣā* ('serving one's husband'), already established as the single most important goal for women (see Tryambaka's introduction, section I, pp. 29–43). These ideas are further explained in Tryambaka's detailed definition of the term in his conclusion (section V, especially pp. 312–13).

Strictly speaking, the term *agnihotra* denotes the Vedic ritual of fire sacrifice described in detail in the *śrautasūtras* (see Dumont 1939). It involves three fires (*treta*; i.e. the *āhavaniya*, *gārhapatya* and *dakṣināgni*), takes place in a special enclosure, and consists primarily of an oblation (*homa*) of cow's milk into the *āhavaniya* fire twice daily, at sunset and at dawn. Only those who have reached a certain age ('when he has a son and his hair is still black', Śab. on Jai.I.3.3; but cf. Trik. I.78c–9b) and who are rich enough to pay for the priests, may set up the three *śrauta* fires. Once a man has done so, he is required to perform the twice-daily sacrifice for the rest of his life as a householder. The morning and evening oblations are in fact two halves of one ritual. In essence, this is a magical rite to ensure the continued passage of the sun through the heavens ('un charme solaire', Dumont 1939:viii). The evening performance is thus of particular importance since it marks the sun's disappearance and determines its return the following day. The apparent emphasis on the morning oblation is probably due to the fact that the discussion of the proper time for the ritual traditionally revolves around

that morning performance (Bodewitz 1976:3). In fact, the correct time of the oblation varies (depending on the text) from just before to just after *samādhyā* ('juncture', i.e. sunset or sunrise; e.g. Āp.śr. VI.4. 7–9; Kāty.śr. IV.14.6, IV.15.1, 12–15). The first oblation in the morning is offered to Sūrya; the first in the evening to Agni; the second in both cases to Prajāpati.

The term *sāyamprātarhoma* denotes the simpler *grhya* counterpart of the *śrauta* ritual, as described in the *grhyasūtras* and later *smṛtis*. It involves the single domestic fire (*grhyāgni*; also called *aupāsana*, *vaivāhika*, *smārta*, etc.); and consists of an oblation (*homa*) of cooked food such as boiled rice or barley (Āsv.gr.I.2.1; Āp.gr.III. 7.19; Gobh.Sm.I.131, III.114). Like its *śrauta* equivalent, it is offered in two parts, evening and morning (hence *sāyamprātarhoma*), with similar differences of opinion as to the precise time. The single or *aupāsana* fire is established by every ritually independent male, whether this independence is marked by the end of his studentship (for one who does not return to the joint family), his marriage (if that does not immediately follow the former), the death of his father (in the case of the eldest son) or the partition of the joint family (for younger sons; Śāṅkh.gr.I.1.2–5; Gobh.gr.I.1.7.12; Mān.gr.II.1.1). A particular age or degree of wealth is not stipulated. Thus if a man is unable for reasons of time or money to perform the more complex and costly *śrauta* ritual of *agnihotra*, he should perform the simpler *aupāsana* ritual. If he has the choice, he should choose the former (Sm.C.II.p.412–13). According to some texts, he might even do both, in which case there arises the problem of which should be performed first (e.g. Kāty.śr.IV.13.12 and comm.). According to the *Trikāṇḍamāṇḍana*, there are two views on the kindling of the *śrauta* fires: that it is obligatory (*nitya*), and that it need only be done in order to obtain certain desires (*kāmya*, Trik.I.6); the latter view is ascribed to Baudhāyanī (Trik.I.7). Failure to perform either ritual, out of unbelief or idleness, takes one to a variety of hells (Sm.C.II.p.417). The deities to whom the oblations are offered in the *sāyamprātarhoma* are the same as those in the *śrauta agnihotra*: Sūrya, Agni and Prajāpati.

Is Tryambaka concerned with the *śrauta* or the *grhya* ritual, or with both? To answer this question, I shall consider one of his rulings out of sequence. Sdhp.8r.5–6 informs us that, according to Manu, 'the (householder's) wife should perform (these) three rituals daily: service (*śuśrūṣā*) relating to the *agnihotra* ritual; *samādhyā* or twilight

worship; and the obligatory *bali* offerings.<sup>11</sup> Does this reference to the *agnihotra* indicate an exclusive interest in *śrauta* ritual, or is it being used more loosely here to cover both forms of the fire sacrifice?

Tryambaka certainly begins with rulings that only make sense in the context of the *śrauta* ritual. In Sdhp.8r.1–4, for example, he describes the layout of the traditional *agnihotra* enclosure (see below, p. 120, notes 11, 12). In Sdhp.8v.9, he explains that the wife should take her place after the *uddharanam*; that is, after coals have been taken from the *gārhapatya* fire to light the other *śrauta* fires (see p. 130, note 25 below). In Sdhp. 9v.3–5, however, he informs us that the ruling just given on the close link between the wife and the sacred fires of the *agnihotra* ritual is equally applicable to the *aupāsana* ritual (see p. 140, note 40). He thus seems to differentiate between the *śrauta* and *smārti* fire sacrifice, and to cover both.

In fact, the obvious parallels between *śrauta* and *smārti* fire rituals have created a confusing overlap in terms and concepts (cf. Bodewitz 1976:191 ff.). Āp.I.4.14.1, for example, gives *agnihotra* first in the list of ritual obligations to be fulfilled by the newly-married man (cf. also Āp.I.4.13.22). In this context, the term must mean the morning and evening offerings into the *grhya* fire (*sāyam-prātarhoma*). For, as indicated above, the *śrauta* ritual is open only to those who have reached a certain age and position; it is certainly not an automatic requirement of the householder (but cf. Trik.I.78c–9b). The establishment of the *grhya* fire, on the other hand, often coincides with the marriage ceremony. The *aupāsana* fire ritual is presumably called *agnihotra* merely to give it the higher ritual status. For the same reason, Hir.gr.I.26.3 declares that the man who makes offerings in the *grhya* fire is held to be an *āhitāgni* (i.e. one who has set up the three *śrauta* fires). (Mātrdatta omits this chapter in his commentary, which suggests that it is in fact a later addition.)

It is therefore unwise to assume that Tryambaka's references to the *agnihotra* always indicate the *śrauta* ritual. As we shall see, some of them most certainly do. But his stress on the importance of fire worship, without any provisos regarding the age, wealth and

1. *tathā ca manuḥ // agnihotrasya śūrūṣā samdhyopāsanam eva ca / kāryam  
patnyā pratidinam balikarma ca naityakam // iti //* Sdhp.8r.5–6 (Manu) <  
Sm.M.II.p.355 (Manu). Not in Mandlik or N.S. edns. of Manu. Attrib. to  
Manu in the *Smṛtiratnākara* acc. to the 1946 N.S. edn. of Manu (p.532–3).

so on of the householder concerned, suggests that Tryambaka's main interest is in the ritual responsibilities of the wife of the independent householder and not merely with those of the wife of the *āhitāgni*. Tryambaka professes to have written a treatise on the religious duties of Hindu women. The text itself reveals that his interest is limited to orthodox women of the three higher *varṇas*, in particular to those at court. A further restriction to the wives of *āhitāgnis* is unlikely.

The term *samdhya* means literally the 'juncture' between night and day, thus the twilight periods of dawn and dusk; a third 'juncture' is that between morning and afternoon, hence midday. In the context of ritual, the term denotes the religious acts performed by twice-born men at these two (e.g. Gaut.I.2.16-17; Manu II.101; Yājñ.I.24-5) or three (e.g. Apar.p.49; Sm. C.II.p.354; Vidyārṇava 1979:32) junctures of the day, hence the 'twilight ritual' or 'prayer' (*samdhypāsanam*, *samdhvāvandanam*). As already shown, *samdhypāsanam* is one of the three ritual responsibilities Tryambaka stipulates for the orthodox Hindu wife (see note 1). But precisely what does he mean by this?

First, what is normally meant by *samdhypāsanam*? The principal component is the repeated recitation (*japa*) of mantras, primarily the *gāyatrī* preceded by *om* and the three *vyāhṛtis*. Subsidiary components include sipping (*ācamana*); ritual breathing (*prāṇā-yāma*; lit. 'restraint of the breath'); sprinkling with water (*mārjana*); a ritual to drive out sin (*aghamarṣaya*; i.e. removing the sin of the preceding night or day; cf. Manu II. 102); offering water to the sun (*arghyadāna*); and the worship of Sūrya in the morning or Varuṇa in the evening (*upasthāna*). Each of these also involves the recitation of Vedic mantras (PVK II.i.p.314-19; Vidyārṇava 1979:32-41). The proper setting for the ritual is outside the village (Āp.I.11.30.8; Gaut.II.16; *aranye*, Śaṅkh.gr.II.9.1); in particular, by a river, in the shade of an *āsvattha* tree, or in a similar sacred place (Baudh.gr.II.4.2). Only the *agnihotrin* who must perform the *śrauta* ritual at sunrise in his house may perform the *samdhya* at home (Ujj. on Āp.I.11.30.9). The morning ritual is performed standing, the evening one sitting (Gaut.II.17; Sm.C.II.p.352-3).

The parallels with both the *śrauta* ritual of *agnihotra* and the *smārta* ritual of *sāyamprātarhoma* are obvious. All three rituals are performed morning and evening (the midday *samdhya* is often omitted); all three involve an offering to Sūrya and invocations to

both fire and the sun; all three are in origin magical rites to ensure the continued rising and setting of the sun. The *aghamarsana* ritual to remove sin recalls a similar interpretation of the *agnihotra* (see Bodewitz 1976: 153 ff.). So close are these parallels, and so prevalent the current custom of twilight worship, that Gonda maintains that the modern ritual of *samdhyopāsanam* has not only borrowed from the Vedic ritual of *agnihotra* but has replaced it (1970:74). Certainly, the adoration of the sun is an important part of the *śrauta* ritual. Gonda's remark is even more persuasive if the term *samdhyā* is taken to denote not merely the twilight prayers but the full morning or evening ritual (*agnihotrahoma* or *sāyamprātarhoma*) that normally follows them (see below). In this context, it is interesting to note that when the *Smṛtimuktāphala* quotes the *śloka* given above concerning the three ritual responsibilities of the orthodox wife (see note 1), the term *samdhyopāsanam* is glossed as *sāyamprātarhoma*, the *grhya* counterpart of the *agnihotra* (Sm.M.II. p. 355). We may conclude that there is a further confusing overlap of terms.

Secondly, what is the proper time for the performance of the ritual? This question is approached in two ways: in relation to the actual time of sunset or sunrise (thus creating a further parallel to the discussions of *agnihotra* and *sāyamprātarhoma*); and in relation to the morning fire sacrifice (thus clearly differentiating between *homa* and *samdhyā*). For example, the morning *samdhyā* ideally begins before sunrise and continues until the sun appears; the evening *samdhyā* begins as the sun sets and continues until the stars appear (Āsv.gr.III.7.3–6; Har. on Gaut.I.2.17; Sm.C.II. p. 352–3). While Vidyārṇava specifies an exact time of forty-eight minutes for each ritual (1979:32), according to Manu the longer the time spent the better since it brings long life, fame and so forth (Manu IV.93–4). Alternatively, it should be performed after one's morning ablutions (Yājñ.I.98) and before the *homa* offering (Dakṣa II.28.2; Sm.C.II.p.422).<sup>2</sup> In the case of the man who performs both the *śrauta* and the *smārtा* ritual of *homa*, the *samdhyā* ritual should be performed before either of them (Kāty.śr.IV.13.12 and comm.).

Now it is obvious that a lengthy *samdhyā* would make it difficult

2. *samdhyākarmāvasāne tu svayam̄ homo vidhīyate // Dakṣa II.28.2a.  
prātaḥ samdhyāvandanānantaram agnū āhavanīyādīn yathoktena vidhinā  
hutvā aupāsanāgnim̄ vā // Mit. on Yājñ.I.99.*

for the householder to perform the *homa* ritual at the right time, that is, at dawn. In fact, according to Manu II.15 (cf. also Sm.C.II. p.426), the morning sacrifice (*yajñah*; glossed as *agnihotrahomahī*) may take place either before or after sunrise (*udite 'nudite caiva*) or somewhere in between the two (*samayādhyusite*; glossed by Medhātithi as 'at dawn'; by Kullūka as 'when neither sun nor stars can be seen'). Some authorities insist that the ceremony must be completed before the sun has risen 'by one hand's length' (*hastād īrdhvam*) above the horizon (Gobh.Sm.I.122–3; Sm.C.II.p.426); others allow that it may be performed until the end of the morning period (*samgava*, see p. 45; cf. Āsv.gr.I.9.5 and comm.; Sm.C.II.p. 426). Either way, the difficulty of trying to perform two rituals at roughly the same time remains. Usually, as reported above, the *samdhya* is performed first; sometimes it is performed after the *homa* ritual.

Tryambaka evidently prefers the latter. After his comments on the morning ablutions (see section IIA, pp.69–88, and the clothes and ornaments a woman should wear (see pp.88–101), he moves straight on to deal with the morning fire ritual (*agnisūrūṣā*). Only when he has done that, does he give a series of rulings on *arghyadānam*, one of the subsidiary components of the *samdhya*-ritual (see below, pp. 149–55).

### *The role of the wife*

Before continuing with Tryambaka's discussion of the fire sacrifice, I shall take another of his rulings out of sequence. It concerns his definition of *agnisūrūṣā* in relation to women. What exactly is the wife permitted or expected to do? 'At the time of the oblation,' Tryambaka explains, 'the wife should serve the sacred fire in the sense that she should do such things as adorning (the hearth).'<sup>3</sup> By this, he presumably means such things as cleaning the area and decorating it with powder designs, flowers and so forth. It is remarkable that this is virtually all Tryambaka tells us about what the wife is actually required to do.

In my comment on Tryambaka's introduction (see section I), I touched briefly on the issue of a woman's right to offer sacrifice. The exclusion of women from Vedic education and *upanayana*,

3. *homasa maye patnyā agner alankārādiśuśrūṣā kartavyā // Sdhp.8r.4–5.*

combined with the growing tendency to deny the modification (*īha*) of gender, led to an almost unanimous rejection of that right. According to Manu, for example, the sacrifice performed by a woman is displeasing to the gods and inauspicious for men; a brahmin may not eat the food offered there (Manu IV. 205–6). It is argued (e.g. in Manu XI.37) that the person who performs the sacrifice must be skilled in *śrauta* ritual (*vaitānukuśalah*; glossed by Rāgh. as *śrautakarmakuśalah*) and thoroughly versed in the Veda (*vedapāraguh*). It follows that if a girl (*kanyā*) or a young woman whether married or not (*yuvatīḥ*; glossed by Kull. as *anūdhā ūdhāpi tarunī*) performs the *agnihotra* sacrifice, she will go to hell; as indeed will an insufficiently educated or uninitiated or foolish man (Manu XI.36–7; cf. Sm.C.II.p.424; yet cf. pp.141–9 below). In V.155, Manu goes further still: no sacrifice (*yajña*), no ritual observance (*vrata*), and no fast (*upoṣana*) may be performed by a woman separately (*prthak*; glossed by Sarv. as *bhartrā vinā*; i.e. independently of her husband). Viś.Sm.XXV.15–16 adds that a woman who observes such a fast or *vrata* during her husband's lifetime will deprive him of long life and will herself go to hell.

It is evident from such examples that the main thrust of orthodox opposition is ranged against the independent religieuse (see Leslie 1980:27 ff.; 1983(1): 100). It is not necessarily intended to prevent the orthodox high-caste wife from taking her legitimate part in religious ritual jointly with her husband. In fact, as Jaimini declares, husband and wife are jointly entitled to perform the sacrifice and so should do it together (*ekakarmyam*; Jai.VI.1.17). But what exactly is the wife's role in such ritual acts? If we examine the rulings on precisely this issue of the joint ritual duties of husband and wife, we find that here too the role of the wife is gradually whittled away.

R.V.III.31.5, for example, is quite explicit. Husband and wife are joint sacrificers. Together they press out the *soma* juice (*sunutah*; glossed as *somābhiṣavam kurutah*, v.5); together they approach the, sacrificial grass (*barhiḥ*; glossed as *yajñam*, v.6); together they invite the gods to the sacrificial feast in order to attain immortality (*amṛtāya*; glossed as *amaraṇāya samtānābhivṛddhaye*, v.9). Sāyana comments that this is a hymn of praise to the married couple performing a sacrifice (*yajane dampatyoḥ*; or, in the phrase of some MSS, *yajamānadampatyoḥ*). He glosses *dampatī* as 'the two performers of sacrifice, that is, husband and wife' (*yajñakārīnau jāyāpatī*). The *Taittirīyabrahmaṇa* intones: may husband and wife become one through their joint good deeds (*sampatnī patyā sukṛtena*

*gacchatām*); may they, yoked like oxen, bear together the burden of the sacrifice (*yajñasya dhuryāyuktāvibhūtām*); may they jointly destroy their enemies; and share the rewards in heaven (Tait.Br. III.7.5.11; Śab. on Jai.VI.1.2.).

According to Āp.II.5.11.17, a man needs a wife for two reasons: to bear him children and to perform the religious rituals that must be performed jointly with a wife (*prajāśahatvakarmabhyaḥ*). A wife who takes part in the kindling of the *agnihotra* fire with her husband becomes permanently associated with the rituals connected with it (*karmabhiḥ sambadhyate*; v.14). It is for this reason that, as long as she performs her part in the joint sacrifice and bears children (*dharma-prajā-sampanne dāre*), her husband may not take a second wife (v.12; according to the *Ujjvalā*, this means she must bear sons). Moreover, a wife who fulfils her religious obligations (*dharma-sam-pattiḥ*) is one who is both conscientious about and capable of (*śraddhā śaktiś ca*) the required *śrauta* and *smārta* rituals (*śrautesu gārhyeṣu smārtesu ca karmasu*; Ujj. on v.12).

By playing her part, the wife obtains an equal share in the rewards of the sacrifice. Thus, in the *Buddhacarita*, when the Buddha-to-be abandons his orthodox Hindu wife, she laments that he is depriving her of her legitimate share in the merit obtained by joint sacrifice. She maintains that he has no right to pursue a religious path, either in the home or in the forest, without her (VIII.61–2). For the married couple (*dampati*) is initiated together (*dikṣitāv ubhau*; i.e. in the kindling of the sacred fire); purified together by the performance of Vedic rituals (*vedavidhānasamskṛtau*); and therefore destined to enjoy the same rewards after death (*samaṁ bubhukṣu parato pi tatphalam*; VIII.63).

Even Manu, whose extremist pronouncements on women are well known, insists that the wife is ordained to take part in joint religious rituals. According to Manu IX.28, for example, a man relies on his wife for five essential things: children, religious rituals (*dharma-kāryāṇi*; glossed by Rāgh. as *balyagnihotrādīni*, 'the bali offering, the fire sacrifice, and so on'), obedient service (*śuśrūṣā*), sexual pleasure, and (the reward of) heaven for both himself and his ancestors. Manu IX. 96 explains that, since women were created to have children (*prajanārtham*; glossed alternatively as 'conception', 'pregnancy' or 'childbirth') and men to continue their line (*samtānārtham*; glossed as 'impregnating' and 'implanting the seed'), the religious duties applicable to all (*sādhāraṇo dharmah*) should be performed jointly by husband and wife. Medhātithi comments that

a man has no authority to act alone (*ataḥ kevalasyādhikārābhāvāt*); hence even wives who deserve to be hated (*dvesyāḥ*) should not be abandoned (i.e. superseded).

Similar sentiments abound in the epics and *purāṇas*. The wife is frequently referred to as 'one who shares in her husband's religious duties' (*sahadharmaśari*; e.g. Mbh. XIII.134.7a; Rām.II.117.30b; etc.). Sītā is portrayed performing a number of rituals jointly with Rāma before his installation as heir presumptive (Rām.II.5–6). She even takes part in Daśaratha's *śrāddha* ceremony together with Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (Rām.II.103). The *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* concludes that a man cannot fulfil his religious duties to gods, ancestors and guests without a wife: for the wife shares the sacrifice, bears the children and prepares the food (21.70–2).

According to Pāṇini, this participation in the sacrifice is indicated in the word *patnī*. For the feminine form of *pati* ('owner', 'lord', 'husband') is simply *patī*. When the final *i* of *patī* is replaced by *n* before the feminine suffix *ī*, it denotes a wife 'related through sacrifice' (*yajñasamyoge*), thus one who takes part in the sacrifices of her husband (Pāṇ.IV.1.33). Since the *śūdra* is not entitled to perform sacrifices, his wife may not be called *patnī*, or is called so only by analogy (*upamānāt siddham*; Pat. on Pāṇ.IV.1.33). When Jaimini declares that the *patnī* is entitled to perform sacrifices because she is 'closely connected with wealth' (*arthena ca samavetatvāt*; Jai. VI.1.14), he is taking the term in this most literal sense of 'female owner'. As the chief wife of equal caste, the *patnī* is the joint owner of wealth and thus meets the stipulations required of the performer of sacrifice (cf. Jai.VI.1.10; see section I). Since the wealth required for the sacrifice is in fact common to both husband and wife, they should perform the sacrifice together (Jai.VI.1.17).

The *pūrvamīmāṃsā* material is illuminating in many respects. For example, in his commentary on Jai.VI.1.17, Śabara explains that certain important rituals such as the *darśapūrṇamāsa* (new and full moon ceremonies) and the *jyotiṣṭoma* (a class of *soma* ritual) would be ineffective if either the wife or the husband did not participate. In the cases he cites, both sacrificer and *patnī* must gaze at the ghee.<sup>4</sup> But how active, and how important, is the latter's participation in other rituals?

4. Gazing at the ghee (*ājyāveksana*) is one of several actions to be performed by the wife in the *darśapūrṇamāsa* ritual; cf. Smith 1984:576–7.

Certainly, in several Vedic rites, the wife plays both an active and an essential role. In the horse-sacrifice (*asvamedha*), for example, four (or three) of the king's wives (*mahiṣī*, the consecrated queen; *vāvātā*, the favourite; *parivrktī*, the neglected one who has borne no son; and *pālāgalī*, the low-born wife) anoint the horse and weave pearls into its mane and tail (Śat.Br.XIII.2.6.4–8; Kāty.śr.XX.5.15–17; Dumont 1948:480). When it has been killed (*samjñapanam*; Kāty.śr.XX.6.10), they circumambulate the horse nine times, fanning it as they walk (Kāty.śr.XX.6.12–13; Śat.Br.XIII.2.8.2–4; Dumont 1948:482). In the *Rāmāyana*, the queen decapitates the animal herself (Rām.I.14.33–5). She then lies beside the horse under the cover of a garment and simulates sexual intercourse with it (*āsvaśiśnam upasthe kurute*, Kāty.śr.XX.6.16; *yonipradeśe*, comm.; Baudh.śr.15.29). After a ritual exchange of abuse, the queens dissect the animal with special needles (Kāty.śr.XX.7.1–2). Similarly, in the ceremony of the king's consecration (*rājasūya*), three of his wives (*mahiṣī*, *vāvātā* and *parivrktī*) are among the people of importance to the king to whom the 'jewel-offerings' (*ratnahavis*) are given (Śat.Br.V.3.4.13; Tait.Sam.I.8.9; Heesterman 1957:49–57). In the *vājapeya* (lit. 'drink of strength') ritual, the sacrificer's wife (wearing a skirt of *kuṣa* grass to counter the effects of her impure lower half) accompanies her husband in a symbolic joint ascent to heaven (Śat.Br.V.2.1.8–11). In the *soma* sacrifice, she ritually cleanses the animal about to be sacrificed (Śat.Br.III.8.2.1–6); makes the foundation brick for the fire-altar (Śat.Br.VI.5.3.1); and at one time she may even have chanted the *sāman* verses now sung by the *udgātṛ* (Śat.Br.XIV.1.35). For the wife is the 'bottom half' (*jaghanārdhā*, Sat.Br.III.8.2.2; V.2.1.8) of the sacrifice, half the sacrificer's own self (Sat.Br.V.2.1.10). As Śabara comments on Jai.VI.1.18, statements such as 'he binds the wife with a rope and the sacrificer with a girdle in order to make them a couple' (*mithunatvāya*; Tait.Sam.VI.1.3.5) only make sense if the sacrifice is performed jointly by husband and wife.

In theory then, the *patnī* is as much a sacrificer as her husband. But, as Śabara also explains, the ritual function of the wife is totally different from that of the male sacrificer: hers is a necessarily supportive role. Her participation therefore does not in any way disturb the 'singleness' (*ekatvam*) of the sacrificer (Śab. on Jai.VI.1.17). This point is picked up in Jai.VI.1.22 and 23. It seems that some theorists argued that the dual number in the joint sacrifice refers not

to the husband and his wife but to two men (*dvayoh pumsor adhikārah*, Śab. on Jai.VI.1.22; e.g. the sacrificer and the priest). Jaimini disagrees. The sacrifice is performed by one man not two (*ekah pumān ādudhīta na dvau*; Śab. on Jai.VI.1.23); the dual number indicates the 'quality' of the single man (*gunasya tu vidhānatvāt*; Jai.VI.1.23); the word 'second' thus denotes the wife (*patnyā dvitīyaśabdah syāt*; Jai.VI.1.23). The Vedic 'sacrificing couple' is reduced to a male sacrificer with his female 'second'. It is clear which way the trend is going.<sup>5</sup>

Having established the essential 'singleness' of the male sacrificer in the joint sacrifice, the next question concerns which acts should be performed by the man alone, and which by his assistant wife. Jai.VI.1.24 explains. Since the wife is not equal (*atulyatvāt*; i.e. to the husband), she should perform only those acts which are specifically laid down in the Veda for her to do (*tasyā yāvad uktam*; cf. Śab.. *vacanaprāmānyāt*), such as the invocation of blessings and celibacy (*āśir brahmacaryam*). I have already noted that Jaimini does not in fact maintain that women are not entitled to study the Veda (see section I). He merely insists that in the joint sacrifice the wife is 'not equal'. But all later commentators, from Śabara onwards, gloss this vague 'inequality' in terms of Vedic education, or rather the lack of it. The sacrificer is a man and therefore learned in the Veda (*yajamānah pumān vidvāṁś ca*); whereas the wife is a woman and therefore not learned (*patnī strī ca aviḍyā ca*; Śab. on Jai.IV.1.24).

Oddly enough, Śabara does not take exception to the term *āśih*, 'the invocation of blessings', that is, Vedic mantras. Kumārla, in his commentary, the *Tuptikā*, does. According to him, the wife, being without Vedic education, would be unable to pronounce the mantras correctly (but cf. section I above). The term *āśih* must therefore be reinterpreted to mean 'embellishments' (*samskārāḥ*) such as bathing, anointing, applying collyrium and so on. Even the term *brahmacarya* (celibacy) must be reinterpreted to mean 'freedom from all passions' (Kum.Tu.VI.1.24; Jha 1934:993). Lesser things

5. The secondary importance of the *patnī* and the passivity of her ritual role is exemplified in two photographs in Staal's analysis of the *agnicayana* ritual as performed by Nambudiri brahmins in 1975. She sits beside her husband, in a semicircle with the priests, but her head and body are bowed low behind a large umbrella so that — as *antarjanam* ('inside person') — she is hidden from view (Staal 1983:I, pp. 314–15, plates 45A, 45B; see also p. 383, plate 62).

laid down for the wife to do, such as gazing at the ghee (e.g. Śab. on Jai.VI.1.17, see above; Āp.śr.II.6.6), may be interpreted literally. Sandal is so influenced by later views on the matter that he translates even Jaimini's reference to *āśīḥ* as 'paring of the nails', commenting that the term covers the shaving of the head and face as well. He does add, however, that other commentators have taken *āśīḥ* to mean Vedic benedictions (Sandal 1974 on Jai.VI.1.24). Tryambaka, on the other hand, follows Kumārila. But, for him, the transition from Vedic mantras (*āśīḥ*) to 'embellishments' (*samskārāḥ*) no longer requires explanation. He merely states that the wife's service to the fire implies 'adorning and so on' (*alaṅkārādi*).

This issue of the right (*adhikāra*) of the wife to perform sacrifice is discussed at some length in the first *kānda* or 'section' of the *Trikāṇḍamāṇḍana*. Bhāskara Miśra's exposition of the *soma-yāga* aphorisms of Āpastamba, also known as the *Āpastambasūtradhvaniṭarthakārikā*.<sup>6</sup> Bhāskara Miśra wrote at a time when it was evidently still possible to assert that, according to some, the wife was equally and jointly responsible for the sacrifice (before A.D. 1100 according to PVK.I.i.p.551; in the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. according to Smith, 1984:75–80). Judging by the repeated juxtaposition of unreconciled opposing views, however, this produced an uncomfortable ambivalence.

The section on the *adhikāra* of the wife opens by presenting three distinct views. According to the first, all the specifications (*lakṣaṇāḥ*) enjoined for the sacrificer, except the traditional learning of the Veda (*svādhyāyamātram tyaktvā*), are applicable to all the sacrificer's wives (Trik.I.43). According to the second, the sacrificer shares these rights regarding the sacrifice only with his chief wife (*savarṇayā jyeṣṭhabhāryayaiva*). According to the third, the sacrificer may not share these rights with a wife married solely for pleasure (*kāmapatni*) after the *śrauta* fires have been lit (Trik.I.44). Trik.I.45 then declares that the *adhikāra* of the married couple acting together in the sacrifice (*dampatyor ubhayor mithah*) is indeed equal (*tulya eva*). In accordance with this view, even the ability (*kartrtvam*) to make sacrificial offerings (*dravyatyāge*) is equal (Trik.I.46a). (The term *yāga* denotes the ritual renunciation of the fruit of the offering by the sacrificer and the assigning of that fruit

6. I am indebted to Frederick M. Smith for directing me to this work and for lending me portions of his provisional translation. Cf. Smith:1984.

to the relevant deity.) In the context of an optional rite (*kāmyatve*), the ritual should be performed if either husband or wife have a particular desire (Trik.I.53a). According to an alternative view ascribed to Rudradatta (comm. on Trik.I.46b), however, the husband actually makes the offering (*tyāgam patih kuryāt*) while his wife merely ‘approves’ it (*patnī tam anumanyate*; glossed as *anujānāti*, ‘she gives her consent’); hence their inequality in the sacrifice (*adhikāre ‘pi vaisamyam*; Trik.I.47a). What is meant by the wife’s ‘approval’ or ‘consent’ is unclear. Following this line of thought, the sacrificer has the entitlement (*adhikāravān*) with regard to the major offerings (*prādhānyena*) which are independent (*svanisṭha*; glossed as *svatantra*); while the wife, being dependent upon her husband (*patnī tatparatantrā satī*) has the entitlement regarding subsidiary offerings (*aṅgabhūtādhikāriṇī*); hence the religious responsibilities of the husband are heavier (*patidharmā balādhikāḥ*; Trik.I.48). In the context of a *kāmya* rite, the ritual should be performed only if the husband is the one with the desire (Trik.I.53b). Bhāskara Miśra is evidently unwilling to endorse either of the two prevailing views.

By the time of later commentators, however, all injunctions for the joint sacrifice that are not specifically given in the feminine form are taken to refer only to the male sacrificer, the husband. Even those expressed in the feminine are reinterpreted according to current notions of the religious inequality of women. This inequality is in turn justified by the insistence that women are not allowed to study the Veda.

Against such a background, it is no surprise to read in the *Mahābhārata* that it is the wife’s job to look after all the items her husband will need for the sacrifice (Mbh.XIII.47.32–4). According to Trik.III.100, some authorities disregard the *patnī* altogether; the commentary explains that she is not so much a part (*aṅga*) of the sacrifice as a part of the sacrificer, for her position is akin to that of a sacrificial utensil (*yajñāpātrāṇīva patnī*; Smith 1984:128). So passive is her role that the question of whether she need participate at all is raised. In Sītā’s absence, Rāma has a golden image of her made to symbolise their religious partnership in the horse-sacrifice (Rām.VII.91.25). The *Aitareyabrahmaṇa* goes even further, asking if a man without a wife may offer the *agnihotra*. The conclusion is not only that he may, but that he should; for a man who fails to do so is a ‘mock man’ (*anaddhāpuruṣa*), that is, one who offers oblations

to neither gods, ancestors or men (Ait.Br.32.8.p.824–5). Bodewitz (1976:119) translates the term *anaddhāpuruṣa* as ‘barbarian’, taking it merely as a derogatory term. Sāyaṇa explains that such a man is ‘false’ (*anṛtah*) by virtue of his failure to perform his sacrificial duty. In another context, he glosses the term as *alikapurusa*, ‘a false or counterfeit man’ (on Sat.Br.VI.3.1.24; cf. S.B.E.XLI. p.197). Since the essential sacrificer even in the joint sacrifice is the male, failure to perform that sacrifice in the absence of a female ‘second’ merely shows that he is not a ‘real’ man. As Bodewitz points out (1976:119–21), a man without a wife (*apatnīka*) may be either a once-married man whose wife has died or disappeared, or a man who has never married. The latter alternative opens the way for the internalization of the sacrifice. The wife is substituted by faith (*śraddhā*; Ait.Br.32.8) or intellect (*buddhi*; Bodewitz 1976:121, note 10). The sacrificer now offers in and to the self. In the realm of *dharmaśāstra*, however, the substitute is a wife made of *kuṣa* grass (*upādhīś cātra kuśamayī patnī*) with whom a man may offer sacrifice for the rest of his life (Sm.C.II.p.442; Ait.Br.32.8.p.826; contrast Apar. on Yājñ.I.89.p.114–15). According to Trik.II.8, if the sacrificer’s wife is absent, a wife of gold or *kuṣa* grass (*sauvarnī kuśapatnī vā*) may be substituted (cf. Trik.III.96); but the wife may never use such an image of her husband to perform the sacrifice in his absence (*patyuh pratinidhim kṛtvā patnī naivam samācaret*).

Tryambaka also deals with this question of whether the wife’s presence and ‘participation’ is strictly necessary, and comes to the opposite conclusion (see below, pp. 132–41). For the moment, however, let us note simply that his ruling on the wife’s duties in the joint sacrifice follows the trend of thought indicated by Śabara and Kumārila. In general terms, as Tryambaka explains in section IV, the good wife should be like Lopāmudrā, who takes her husband’s religious duties as her own (*pativrata, sadharmini*) to the extent that she seems to be no more than her husband’s shadow (*tavāṅgacchāyayā tulyā*; Sdhp.22v. 10ff.; cf. pp. 273–4, 281–2). In the context of the fire sacrifice, the *patnī*’s task is the supportive and peripheral one of decorating the hearth.

### *Where the patnī may walk*

Tryambaka opens his section on *agnisuśrūṣā* by giving two practical details: first, how the wife should enter the *agnihotra* hall or enclosure; secondly, where she is permitted to walk.

The first of these is a ruling specific to the *patnī*. ‘For the purpose of the fire ritual, the wife should enter the *agnihotra* hall by its southern door.’<sup>7</sup> Tryambaka quotes from the *Kātyāyanasrauta-sūtra*. ‘There are two doors, one to the east, another to the south; the husband enters by the eastern door, the wife by the southern one.’<sup>8</sup>

These rulings indicate that Tryambaka is thinking primarily of the *śrauta* ritual involving three fires and taking place in a special enclosure (*agnyagāra*; Āp.śr.I.2.10). The ritual for setting up the sacred fires (*agnyādheya*, °*ādhana*) gives details regarding the construction of this enclosure (cf. Śr.kośa I.i). Strictly speaking, two enclosures should be made (*agnyagāre kurvanti*; Kāty.śr.IV.7.8). First, a raised place is prepared, sloping towards the east (*prācīnapravānam devayajanam*; Āp.śr.V.4.1). Next, an east–west line is drawn. On this are marked the centres of the *āhavaniya* and *gārhapatiya* fireplaces, the former to the east, the latter to the west. The *āhavaniya* or ‘oblatory’ fire is kindled by fire brought from the *gārhapatya*, and the *homa* offering is performed in it (Kāty.śr.IV.8.24; I.8.44). The *gārhapatya* or ‘domestic’ fire (lit. ‘belonging to the *grhapatī* or master of the house’) is kept permanently alight (Āp.śr.VI.2.13). The two fireplaces are built eight paces apart (*astiṣu prakrameṣu*) if the sacrificer is a brahmin, eleven if he is a *ksatriya*, twelve if he is a *vaiśya* (Āp.śr.V.4.3). Around each fire an enclosure is built. The *āhavaniya* enclosure, with its rafters or roof poles (*vamśa*) pointing east, encloses only the *āhavaniya* fire. The *gārhapatya* enclosure, with its rafters pointing north, encloses both the *gārhapatya* fire and, south-east of that, the *daksīna* or ‘southern’ fire (Kāty.śr.IV.7.9; Āp.śr.V.4.2,5). These two enclosures are open to each other on the inside to form one larger unit. There are two entrances into this double fire-hall. The entrance into the *āhavaniya* enclosure is to the east; that into the *gārhapatya* enclosure is to the south (Kāty.śr.IV.7.10 and comm.) More specifically, the sacrificer (*yajamānah*, Kāty.śr.comm; *patīḥ*, Tryambaka) should enter the *āhavaniya* fire-hall by the eastern door; the *patnī* should enter the *gārhapatya* fire-hall by the southern one (Kāty.śr.IV.7.10 and

7. *agniśuśrūṣārtham agnihotragṛhe daksīṇayā dvārā patnyā pravestavyam* // Sdhp.7v.9–10.

8. *tathā ca kātyāyanah* // *daksīṇapūrvे dvāre* // *pūrvena patīḥ praviśati* // *daksīṇena patnī* // *iti* // Sdhp.7v.10–8r.1 (Kāty.) < Kāty.śr.IV.7.10,19,20 (*daksīṇapūrvadvāre* for *daksīṇapūrvे dvāre*; *pūrvena praviśati*, v.19).

comm.) Additional information not supplied by Tryambaka includes the shapes of the three fireplaces (the *āhavaniya* is square, the *gārhapatya* circular, the *dakṣīṇa* the shape of a halfmoon; see figure 7); and where the sacrificer and his wife should sit (the former to the south-west of the *āhavaniya* fire; the latter to the south-west of the *gārhapatya* fire, facing north; Āp.śr.VI.5.1.2, II.5.2.8).<sup>9</sup>

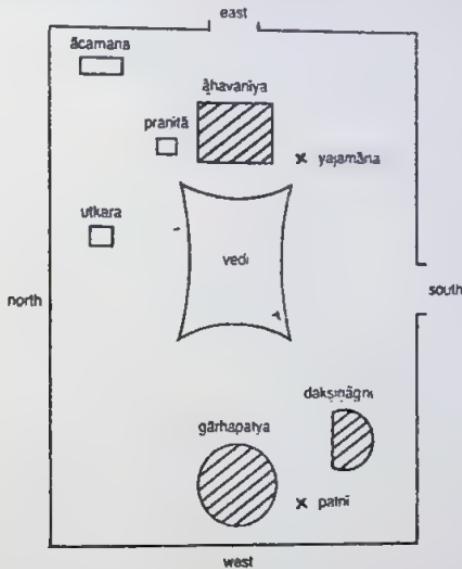


Figure 7. Layout of the ritual enclosure

There are two main points of interest here. First, the ruling that the sacrificer and his wife should enter by different doors (Sdhp.7v.10–8r.1 < Kāty.śr.IV.7.10,19–20) seems to be contradicted by another ruling in Tryambaka's source that for the *agnihotra* ritual one should enter by the southern door (*dakṣīṇena praveśanam agnihotrestiṣu*; Kāty.śr.IV.15.29). According to the commentary, this applies to the priest, the sacrificer and the *patnī*. The *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa*, however, agrees with the first ruling: the sacrificer should enter from the east (*pūrvēṇāhavaniyam parītya*; Śat. Br.II.3.3.13); if he were to take his place after entering from the south, he would fail to reach heaven (Śat. Br.II.3.3.16). Neither Dumont nor Bodewitz draws attention to this apparent contradiction. Dumont gives only the second ruling (1939:2). Bodewitz assumes the first without

9. For a detailed description of the construction and layout of a ritual enclosure in 1975, together with diagrams and photographs, see Staal 1983: I, 244ff.

comment (1976:58–60 and note 5). The issue evidently needs further clarification.

Secondly, Tryambaka's brief quotation reinforces a very common but significant set of identifications and associations: the sacrificer with the *āhavaniya* fire and the eastern direction; the *patnī* with the *gārhapatya* fire and the south. Traditionally, heaven is identified with both the *āhavaniya* and the east. For example, Ait.Br.25.1 (p.648) declares that the *āhavaniya* is sacrifice (*yajña*), the *āhavaniya* is heaven (*svarga*). According to Śat.Br.XII.4.1.3, the *āhavaniya* is the other world (*antarikṣaloka*; i.e. the intermediate region between earth and sky). Elsewhere, the *āhavaniya* is the world of the gods (*devaloka*; Śat.Br.VII.3.1.10, XII.9.3.10). Similarly, Śat.Br.II.3.3.16 explains that when the sacrificer walks towards the east, he is moving towards the heavenly world and will thereby gain heaven. For the eastern direction is towards the gods (Śat.Br.VII.3.2.1; XIV.2.2.28), the region of the gods (Śat.Br.III.1.1.2,6; cf. Gonda 1980:52–7). Correspondingly, the *gārhapatya* is identified with the terrestrial world (*ayam eva lokah*, Śat.Br.XII.4.1.3; *manusyalokah*, VII.3.1.10). Śat.Br.VII.1.1.3 and 7 explain that the *gārhapatya* is the size of a man and the circular shape of the womb and the earth, for it is this terrestrial world (cf. Śat.Br.IX.2.3.14). Unlike the 'divine' *āhavaniya*, the *gārhapatya* fire is 'human' for it is the world of men (Śat.Br.VII.3.1.10). The roof poles of the *gārhapatya* enclosure point north for that is the region of men and the appropriate direction for an unconsecrated person (*adīksitasya*). Only for a consecrated person (*dīksitasya*) may the poles point east as in the *āhavaniya* enclosure (Śat.Br.III.1.1.7; III.6.4.12). The south, however, is the direction or world of the ancestors (Śat.Br.III.1.1.2; III.6.4.12; IX.3.4.11) and, by extension, of death itself (cf. Gonda 1980:52–7). Thus the sacrificer is associated with the gods and heaven; the *patnī* with men and the world of the ancestors. More dramatically, if the sacrificer entered from the south as the *patnī* does, he would fail to reach heaven (see above, Śat.Br.II.3.3.16). Consequently, if she does reach heaven, it will not be on her own account but by virtue of her association with her husband.

Tryambaka's second point concerns where the *patnī* is permitted to walk. '(Any) walking about in the *agnihotra* enclosure should be done along the sacred path (or place; *tīrtha*).'<sup>10</sup> The quotation that

10. *agnihotragṛhe tīrthenaiva samcārah kartavyah // Sdhp.8r.1.*

follows is not a ruling exclusive to women but a general one concerning any movement within the sacrificial area. First, however, it is necessary to give some explanation of the terms used.

*Tirtha* and *samcara* denote the special path (*mārga*; comm. on Kāty.śr.I.3.42) along which one may walk within the sacrificial area. For rituals involving an *uttaravedi* or northern altar—such as the *varunapraghāsa*, animal and *soma* sacrifices—it lies between the *cātvāla* and the *utkara* (Kāty.śr.I.3.42 and comm.; Āp.śr.XII.5.4, Rudradatta comm.; Āśv.śr.I.1.6 and comm.). In all *istis* such as the new and full moon rituals, it lies between the *pranītā* and the *utkara* (Kāty.śr.I.3.43; Āśv.śr.I.1.4,7 and frontispiece, Ān.).

The *cātvāla* is the trench or pit from which earth is taken to construct the *mahāvedi* or great altar (*avatāh*, comm. on Āśv.śr.I.1.6; *cātvālāt purīsam*, comm. on Kāty.śr.I.8.39). It is situated to the north-east of the altar (Sen 1982; plans 3,5,6). It is not included in Dumont's 'plan de la hutte et de l'emplacement du sacrifice' (1939:xv) nor in Sen's plan for the *agnihotra*, *darsapūrṇamāsa* and *istis* (1982: plan 4), presumably because it is not relevant in the *agnihotra*. In Staal's diagram of the elaborate *agnicayana* ritual, the *cātvāla* is positioned on the northern boundary of the *mahāvedi*, to the north of the bird-altar and east of the *utkara*. It is not included in the smaller sacrificial hall appropriate for the simple *agnihotra* ritual (1983:I, endpapers, 262–3, 394; 398, plate 65).

The *utkara* ('rubbish heap') is a mound to the north of the altar (*vedi* or *mahāvedi*; Sen 1982: plans 3,4; Staal 1983:I, endpapers) where the earth required for constructing the altar is put (comm. on Āśv.śr.I.1.4, p.5). According to Staal, it is made in the shape of a turtle (1983:I, 258–9, plate 36B). Other discarded items such as *darbha* grass, and flowers and so on may also be placed there (comm. on Āp.śr.II.1.6–7). In the building of the fire-altar, for example, instructions are given that any imperfect or discoloured brick should be broken up and thrown on the *utkara*, the proper place for what is not needed (Śat.Br.VIII.7.2.16).

The *pranītā* is where specially purified water is kept in a water pot, to the north-east of the altar (comm. on Āśv.śr.I.1.4, p.6; Sen 1982: plan 4; Dumont 1939:xv). It is called *pranītā* because the water is 'brought forward' by the *adhvaryu* from the *gārhapatya* fire to its place by the *āhavaniya* fire (Śat.Br.I.1.1.12–21).

Tryambaka's version of all this is taken from the *Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra* and runs as follows. 'The sacred area (*tirtha*) of (or

path to) the sacrifice is between the *cātvāla* and the *utkara*. (When coming) from the *cātvāla*, (it lies) between the *āhavaniya* fire and the *utkara*. Until the ritual is over, the performers of the sacrifice (i.e. the priests), the sacrificer and his wife should walk there (i.e. only along that path). When the ritual is over, they may walk around in the area where there is no *utkara* (i.e. on the other side of the enclosure).<sup>11</sup> Tryambaka supplies his own glosses. ‘*Visamsthite* means “as long as the ritual is not completed”. *Samcarah* means “entering and leaving”. *Samsthite* means “once the ritual is completed, that is, afterwards.”<sup>12</sup>

The quotation is obviously a general one to be taken in so far as it is appropriate. Since the *cātvāla* is not required for the *agnihotra* ritual, we may perhaps assume that the *pranītā* is meant. Sen, in his diagram of the *vedi* for the *agnihotra*, *darśapūrṇamāsa* and *iṣṭis*, marks the *saṃcaras* of the sacrificer and the priests (Sen 1982: plan 4). That of the *patnī* is missing. Tryambaka, however, includes it (cf. Kāty.śr.IV.13.13 and comm.).

When dealing with the various instructions concerning the right way to approach the sacrifice, it is important to distinguish between three kinds of entrance or approach. First, there are the two physical entrances into the sacrificial enclosure: the eastern and the southern doors (see above). Within the enclosure lies the *vihāra* (lit. ‘separation’, i.e. of the fires), the sacrificial area containing the three fires (comm. on Āśv.śr.I.1.4, p.5). Before going to his place, the sacrificer should sip water from the place prescribed for sipping (*ācamana*) inside the enclosure but outside the *vihāra* (Āśv.śr., Ān., frontispiece; Sen 1982: plan 4). The *vihāra* itself must be approached from the north (Baudh.I.7.15.1). Śat.Br.II.3.3.14 even declares that there is a door on the northern side. But this is misleading: there is no northern entrance to the enclosure; the door is a metaphorical one within it (Bodewitz 1976: 60, note 5). Once inside the enclosure, one should walk between the *gārhapatya* and *āhavaniya* fires, thus ap-

11. *tathā ca bodhyāyanah // antareṇa cātvālotkarau yajñasya tīrtham //*  
*ā cātvā[ād] āhavaniyo[karau] // tataḥ kartāro yajamānah patnī prapadyeran //*  
*visamsthite// samsthite ca saṃcaro 'nutkaradeś[āt] // iti // Sdhp.8r.1–3 (Baudh)*  
*< Baudh.I.7.15.15–19 (ca prapadyeran for prapadyeran). Cf. Baudh.Sm.I.*  
*7.14–17 (SS).*

12. *visamsthite asamāpte karmani[ ] samcarah praveśo nigramaś ca[ ]*  
*samsthite samāpte karmaṇi paścād ity arthah // Sdhp.8r.3–4.*

proaching the *vihāra* from the north. In this context, the statement that one who enters from the south will miss the sacrificial 'boat' (literally, see Sat.Br.II.3.3.15–16) means not that the *patnī* is barred from heaven (because she enters the *enclosure* from the south) but that once inside the enclosure everyone should approach the *vihāra* from the north. The third type of 'entrance' is that mentioned here by Tryambaka: the sacred path to the sacrifice from the north-east by which one may come and go during the ritual, the *tīrtha* or *samcara*. Following Kātyāyana (*patnī ca pūrvavat*; Kāty.śr.IV.13.13), we may assume that this last rule of entry applies to the *patnī* as it does to her husband (*patny api yajamānavad eva samcarena pravisiya*; comm.).

### *Which wife is the patnī?*

Tryambaka evidently assumes that the *patnī* should be present at the sacrifice, both for the morning and the evening rituals (cf. Āp.śr.VI.5.1; contrast Baudh.śr.III.4.8–9; Mān.śr.I.6.2.16). After the two rulings already dealt with above (see notes 1,3), his next concern is the question of which wife should be accorded this privilege. Such a problem only arises in a polygamous household.

In fact, although monogamy is usually presented as the ideal, polygamy seems always to have been practised, especially among royal or noble (i.e. wealthy) families. There are many references to it in the *Rgveda*. R.V.X.145, for example, is intended as a charm to wean the husband's affections away from a co-wife (cf. also R.V.X. 159; A.V.III.18). Sat.Br.XIII.4.1.9 refers to the four wives of the king, all of whom (including the *pālāgalī*, the low-born wife) have a part to play at the sacrifice (see above). Baudh.I.8.16.1–5 declares that a brahmin may marry four wives (i.e. one of each *yama*), a *kṣatriya* three, a *vaiśya* two, and a *sūdra* one; and then proceeds to discuss the mixture of caste that would result (cf. Manu III.13, v.14 refutes this; Vas.I.24–5).

Yet Āp.II.5.11.12 forbids a man to take a second wife as long as the first is able to produce children and perform her part in the religious sacrifice. Verse 13 adds that if the first wife is deficient in these two important respects, then he may take another wife, as long as he does so before the sacrificial fires are kindled (*prāg agnyādheyāt*). For Manu IX.81, the major point at issue is the wife's ability to bear sons: if she is barren (*vandhyā*), she may be superseded in the eighth year; if her children all die (*mṛtaprajā*), in

the tenth; if she bears only daughters (*strījananī*), in the eleventh (cf. the tenth, twelfth or fifteenth years respectively, Trik.III. 84a–5). He adds, however, that a disagreeable wife (*apriyavādīnī*) should be superseded at once (cf. Trik.III.85b). The *Smṛticandrikā* puts the question in its religious perspective. Rejecting the views of Āp.II.5.11.12–13, Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa quotes ‘another *smṛti*’. If a wife is barren or produces only daughters, if she is past menstruation (*vigatārtavā*), diseased (*vyādhitā*) or insane (*unmattā*), then she may be abandoned. But if she is innocent of any serious crime (*aduṣṭā*; glossed by Kull. on Manu VIII.388 as *atipātakādidosarahaṭī*), then she should be abandoned only in sexual terms (*tīrthataḥ*; glossed by Dev. as *yonitah*) and not in matters of religion (*na tu dharmataḥ*; Sm.C.II. p.439–40). The institution of polygamy may therefore continue without endangering the apparently monogamous requirements of religious ritual.

Tryambaka’s assumption here that polygamy is the norm reinforces my earlier suggestion that his treatise was intended primarily for a prosperous *kṣatriya* court (see pp.19–20). Certainly, the custom is unknown among the brahmin ritualists of the Āpastamba tradition in Tamil Nadu both today and in the recent past (Smith 1984:133–4). It is interesting, therefore, that Tryambaka does not discuss the important question of whether the *kṣatriya* may sacrifice at all. For it is by no means obvious that he may.

Āp.śr.VI.15.10, for example, declares that a priest may not perform the *agnihotra* sacrifice for a *kṣatriya* (*na rājanyasya juhuyāt*). Instead, the latter should send food to a brahmin at the time of the sacrifice (or before he himself has eaten; *mukhataḥ*, Hir.śr.III.7.19, p.357; cf. Dumont 1939:88) to symbolise the ritual (Āp.śr.VI.15.11). However, if a *kṣatriya* performs the *soma* sacrifice and speaks the truth (*yo vā somayājī satyavādī*), then the priest may perform the *agnihotra* for him (Āp.śr.VI.15.13; Hir.śr.III.7.19,p.357). Mān.śr.I.6.1.54 explains that the *agnihotra* sacrifice may be performed for a *kṣatriya* if he observes religious law (*dhārmukasya*); if not, it should be performed only on new- and full-moon days (*parvasv itarasya*); either way, the *ksatriya* should send food to a brahmin daily to represent the sacrifice.

This exclusion of the *kṣatriya* is predictable. According to the *Kāthakasamhitā*, there is no *agnihotra* for the *ksatriya* because he ignores religious observances and takes life (*avrattyo hi sa hanti*; Kāth.Sam.VI.6,p.56). The reasons given by the *Maitrāyanīsamhitā*

are that the *kṣatriya* is engaged in impure actions (*ayajñiyam amedhyam carati*), eats food which should not be eaten (*aty-anannam*), and defeats the brahmin (*jināti brāhmaṇam*; Mait.I.8.7. p. 126). On new- and full-moon days, however, he keeps his observances and thus may perform the *agnihotra*. On the other days, he should give food to a brahmin. For the brahmin is Agni: what is eaten by the brahmin is sacrificed to Agni (Kāṭh.Sam.VI.6.p.56). Bodewitz discusses this idea of the brahmin as the recipient of the sacrificial offering (1973:223, note 14). I shall consider the importance of the *atitihipūjā* for the *kṣatriya* householder in section II C, pp. 183–210. For the moment, we need only note two apparently contradictory points. First, Tryambaka assumes the practice of polygamy, a custom normally associated with *kṣatriyas*, thereby implying a predominantly *kṣatriya* court. Secondly, he advocates the twice-daily *agnihotra* sacrifice without qualification or proviso regarding the *kṣatriya* lifestyle.

Problems relating to polygamy and sacrificial ritual date back a long way. The *pūrvamīmāṃsakas*, for example, discuss whether or not the term *patnī* should be given in the dual or plural to coincide with the actual number of the sacrificer's wives. As Śabara explains on Jai.IX.3.20, a text used in new- and full-moon sacrifices instructs one to 'attire the wife' (*patnīm sannahya*). If the sacrificer has more than one wife, should he employ the modification (*ūha*) of number in order to make the singular reference dual or plural? Jaimini rules that there should be no modification (*avikārah*; Jai.IX.3.20). Śabara explains that the term *patnī* is used merely to indicate the sacrificer's assistant and is not intended as a reference to the number of his wives (*na cātra dvitvam bahutvam vā vivaksyate*). Even in the case of a modified sacrifice in which more than one wife participates, there should be no modification of the text (Jai.IX.3.21 and Śab.). Thus, however many wives an individual man may have, for the purpose of religious ritual the sacrificer has only one *patnī*.

I have already discussed the views of Jaimini and Pāṇini regarding the definition of *patnī* (section II B, pp.107–15). Only the wife who shares in the sacrifice and its rewards with her husband may be called *patnī*. All other wives are merely *jāyā* ('one who gives birth') or *bhāryā* ('one who is to be supported or maintained', presumably because she bears children). In fact, throughout his treatise on the religious duties of women, Tryambaka adheres to Pāṇini's rule, using the word *patnī* only in connection with the sacrifice. For, in

the context of a largely polygamous court society, it is too limiting a term. He usually prefers the most general terms such as *strī*, *nārī* and *yosit*, words which do not distinguish between 'woman' and 'wife' (but which in the context of Tryambaka's approach can only mean the latter; see section III). Words denoting an unmarried woman (e.g. *kanyā*, 'daughter', 'unmarried girl') appear rarely, as in the description of Pārvatī as 'daughter of the Himalayas' (section I, p. 30, note 2). Words carrying associations of chastity (e.g. *sati*), devotion (e.g. *pativrata*) and the 'good fortune' associated with marriage (e.g. *sumāngalī*, *saubhāgyavatī*) are more common; as are those denoting the negative aspects of the 'unwifely' woman (e.g. *pumścalī*, 'one who runs after men', a loose woman; cf. section III, p. 248, note 9). In the context of the fire ritual, however, Tryambaka is concerned not so much with definition as with the practical problems of a polygamous household. For detailed rules are laid down regarding precedence among wives.

Tryambaka explains. 'If a man has many wives, the worship of fire should be performed only by the senior wife.'<sup>13</sup>

*Jyesthā* (lit. 'first', 'best', 'eldest') means the wife that a man marries first (*jyesthā prathamodhā*: Medh. on Manu IX.122). In discussions concerning the precedence of either the wives themselves or of their sons (e.g. in matters of inheritance), the first or senior wife is usually contrasted with any subsequent or junior wife (*paścād uḍhā kanisthā*; Medh. on Manu IX.122). The reason is clear. The wife who is married first participates in the kindling of the sacred fires. She thus becomes associated with the religious rites celebrated in them (Āp.II.11.14; Sm.C.II.p.438). A wife who is married subsequently, once the sacred fires are already established, is therefore deemed a 'second' (*dvitīyā*; Sm.C.II.p. 439, Viṣṇu) or 'junior' (*kanisthā*) wife. The first wife is thus the legitimate one, married with full ceremony, and both intended and required to participate in her husband's religious obligations (*prathamā dharmapatnī syād*; Sm.C.II.p.439, Kāty.; cf. Trik. III.93). She is usually of the same *varṇa* as her husband (cf. Manu III.12). His religious duty fulfilled, a man may then remarry for more personal reasons such as sexual pleasure (*dvitīyā rativardhī*; Sm.C.II.p.439, Kāty.). Kātyāyana adds that the rewards of any subsequent union

13. *agnisuśrūṣayam bahubhāryasya jyeṣṭhayaiwa kartavyam // Sdhp.8r.  
5–6. Cf. Viṣ.Sm.26.1.*

are 'seen' or obvious (*dr̄ṣṭam eva phalam*); but, unlike the first marriage, such a union produces no 'unseen' or otherworldly effect (*nādr̄ṣṭam upapadyate*; Sm.C.II.p.439, Kāty.). According to one of the three views put forward by the *Trikāṇḍamāṇḍana*, a wife married for pleasure has no entitlement (*adhikāra*) to the sacrifice (Trik.I.44b, see above). It follows that junior wives need not be of the same *varṇa* as their husband.

It is evidently assumed that the first wife will be of the same *varṇa* as her husband. If this is not the case, however, the term *jyeṣṭhā* cannot be applied to the wife married first. For *varṇa* is more important than timing (cf. section IIIC, pp. 165–6, note 12.) As Manu IX.85 explains, if twice-born men marry women of different *varṇas*, then seniority (*jyaiṣṭhyam*), honour (*pūjā*) and living quarters (*veśman*) should be allocated according to *varṇa* (*tāsām varṇakramena*). The *jyeṣṭhā* is thus the first wife of the same *varṇa* as her husband. For only that wife is entitled to attend to her husband's personal needs (*śarīraśuśrūṣām*) and to participate in the daily religious rituals (*dharmaṅkāryam* *va* *naityakam*; Manu IX.86). If a man has several wives of the same *varṇa*, then he should offer sacrifice with the 'eldest' among them, that is, with the one he married first (*jyesthayā saha*; Viṣ. Sm.26.1). However, if he has several wives of different *varṇas*, he should offer sacrifice with one of the same *varṇa* as himself, even if she is the 'youngest' or most recently married wife of all (*kanīṣṭhayāpi*; Viṣ. Sm.26.2).

Tryambaka continues. According to Yājñavalkya, 'if a man has a wife of the same *varṇa* (as himself), then he should not ask any other (wife not of the same *varṇa*) to perform this religious duty. If he has several wives of the same *varṇa* (as himself), then no-one except the senior wife (should be appointed) in religious rites.'<sup>14</sup>

Several possibilities are hinted at here. Ideally, the *patnī* is of the same *varṇa* as the sacrificer. Thus anyone who foolishly (*mohāt*) appoints a wife of a lower *varṇa* to perform the joint sacrifice when the wife of equal *varṇa* is alive is held in the same contempt as a *cāṇḍāla* (Manu IX.87 and Rāgh.); or as a brahmin-killer (Sm.C.II. p.438, Kāty.); and his acts will bear no fruit (Sm.C.II.p.439, Viṣṇu). If he has more than one wife of the same *varṇa*, then he should appoint the most senior among them (*jyesthaiva sahadharma-*

14. *tathā ca yājñavalkyah // satyām anyām savarnāyām dharmakāryam na kārayet / savarnāsu vidhau dharm[y]e jyesthayā na vinetarā // iti , Sdhp. 8r.7–8 (Yājñ.I.88; Sm.C.II.p.437–8; Par.M.I.ii.p.115 (vinetarāḥ)).*

*cāriṇī*; Apar. on Yājñ.I.88). The implication—spelled out by Vis.Sm.26.3—is that if there is no wife of the same *varṇa* (*samānavarṇāyā abhāve*), then he should appoint as *patnī* a wife from the next *varṇa* (*anantarayaiva*). Nandapandita explains that a brahmin may appoint a *kṣatriya* wife, a *kṣatriya* may appoint a *vaiśya* wife. This ruling also holds in times of difficulty (*āpadi ca*: glossed by Nand. to mean ‘if the wife of the same *varṇa* has not returned in time or if a serious accident has befallen her’).

But on no account may a *sūdra* wife play the part of *patnī* (Vis.Sm. 26.4; Manu III.14). For a woman of ‘the black *varṇa*’ (*kṛṣnavarṇā yā rāmā*)—that is, a *sūdra* woman—is intended for sexual pleasure (*ramanāyāiva*) and not for religious ritual (Vas.XVIII,18; Apar. on Yājñ.I.88; Sm.C.II.p.437; Par.M.I.ii.p.116). I have already noted that the wife of a *sūdra* has no right to the title or office of *patnī* because her husband is not entitled to offer sacrifice (see section II B, p. 110). In the case cited here, however, the right of the twice-born husband is not at issue. Yet the *sūdra* wife still may not act as *patnī*. Indeed, the gods and ancestors will not accept any offering in which she has taken part (Manu III.18). For the *dharma-patnī* must be without fault (*nirdoṣā*; Sm.C.II.p.438, Dakṣa); and the *sūdra* woman is demonstrably (i.e by virtue of her birth) at fault. So degraded is she, that she will demote the brahmin who marries her to her own level of *sūdra* (Manu III.15–19). We must conclude, therefore, that—at least in the context of religious ritual, and with reference to the *sūdra* woman alone—the widespread idea (noted in section I) that the *varṇa* of a wife is defined by that of her husband ‘just as a river merges with the sea’ no longer applies.

Conversely, if the *jyeṣṭhā* is at fault (*dose satī*; Sm.C.II.p.438, Dakṣa), she can no longer be the *dharma-patnī*: she must be replaced. Tryambaka explains. ‘If the *jyeṣṭhā* is at fault, then (the ritual duty) must be performed by a junior wife.’<sup>15</sup> He quotes Kātyāyana to the same effect. ‘If a man has many wives, then such rituals as the *agnihotra* should be performed with a wife of the same *varṇa* as himself; if there are many of the same *varṇa*, then with the senior wife as long as she is not at fault.’<sup>16</sup>

15. *jyeṣṭhā garhitā cet kaniṣṭhayaiwa kartavyam // Sdhp.8r.8.*

16. *tad āha kātyāyanah // agnihotrādiśuśrūṣāṁ bahubhāryah savarnayā / kārayet [t]ad bahutve ca jyeṣṭhayā garhitā na cet // iti // Sdhp.8r.8–10 (Kāty.) < Sm.M.I.p.157 (°śuśrūṣā for °śuśrūṣām, Kāty.); Dh.koṣa I.ii.p.1109 (agni-*

Two points may be made here. First, it is unclear when a wife is sufficiently 'at fault' to be disqualified from taking part in the joint sacrifice. We have already established that she may be rejected sexually for any number of reasons ranging from barrenness and disease to insanity, but none of these bar her from the joint sacrifice (Sm.C.II.p.440). The implication is that only a serious crime (*atipātakādidoṣa*; Kull. on Manu VIII.388) can do that. The *Trikāṇḍamāṇḍana* suggests infidelity and hostility to one's husband (*vyabhicāravatī . . . dvesinī drohinī*; Trik.I.79c); alternatively, sexual intercourse with his student or teacher, or (deliberately) aborting a foetus (*śisyagām gurugām garbhahantrim*; Trik.III.89). Secondly, the replacement should ideally be of the same *varṇa* as the husband. Neither Tryambaka nor Kātyāyana suggests that even an unsuitable *jyeṣṭhā* may be replaced by a wife of a lower *varṇa*. However, an *atipātaka* crime must constitute a time of distress or difficulty (*āpadi*; cf. Vis.Sm.26.3). Under these circumstances, the replacement may be of the next *varṇa* down.

If there are several junior wives of the same *varṇa*, however, how should the choice be made? According to Tryambaka, 'when there are several junior wives, (the religious ritual) should be performed by one who is the mother of sons (lit. "heroes"). If several junior wives have borne sons, then it should be performed by one who is obedient to (her husband's) command, full of good qualities, and solicitous (*dakṣa*; lit. "skilful", "clever", "industrious").'<sup>17</sup> In support of the latter ruling, Tryambaka quotes Kātyāyana. 'From among those of his wives who have given birth to sons, he should appoint one who is obedient to (his) command, solicitous, gentle-voiced and pure (in character).'<sup>18</sup>

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*śiṣṭādi* for *agnihotrādi*, *bahutvam* *cej* for *bahutve ca*, Kāty.); Apar. on Yājñ.I.88 (*agniśiṣṭādi* for *agnihotrādi*, *tu jyeṣṭhā yā* for *ca jyeṣṭhayā*, Kāty.); Par.M.I.ii.p.117, Kāty..

17. *kaniṣṭhāś api vīrasuvaiva kartavyam / vīrasuwo 'pi bahvyāś cet tāsām madhye ājñāsampādinī gunavatī daksā ca yā tayaiva kartavyam // Sdhp.8r. 10-8v.1.*

18. *tathā ca kātyāyanah // tathā vīrasuvām āsām ājñāsampādinī ca yā daksā priyamvadā śuddhā tām atra viniyojayed // Sdhp.8v.1-2 (Kāty.) < Sm.M.I.p.157 (Kāty.); Kāty. Sm.19.4 (*yā vā syād vīrasūr* for *tathā vīrasuvām*; *priyā* for *ca yā*; Jīv.); Gobh.Sm.I.5.1 (Ān., as Jīv.); Dh.koṣa I.ii.p.1109 (*yā vā syād vīrasūr āsām*, Kāty.); Apar. on Yājñ.I.88 (as Dh.koṣa); Par.M.I. ii.p.117 (as Dh.koṣa, Kāty.).*

However, Tryambaka continues: 'if that (wife who has been appointed) is unable to perform the various services (*śuśrūṣādi*) (required of her) every day, then each (wife) should do them in turn day by day in order of seniority. (Alternatively,) if the one (who has been appointed for that day) is unable (to take care of everything required of her) within the one day, then all the wives should take part: they should divide the work (between them), each according to her (particular) knowledge (or expertise).'<sup>19</sup> As evidence for these rulings, Tryambaka quotes Kātyāyana's considerably abbreviated version of the same ideas. 'If (one wife) is unable (to do everything every day), then (they should all take it) in turn; according to the (nature of the) work and in order of seniority. If (one wife) is unable (to do everything within one day), then they should (all) do (it) at once, dividing (the work between them) according to their expertise.'<sup>20</sup>

It seems that Tryambaka is now suggesting that all the wives of the sacrificer may assist their husband in the joint ritual. This is certainly one of the three views mentioned in Trik.I.43–4. Given Tryambaka's previous rulings, however, it seems an unlikely conclusion for him to reach. I suggest that he is no longer discussing which wife should assist her husband in the joint sacrifice. Instead, the general term *śuśrūṣādi* probably covers all the duties that might come under the heading of *strīdharma*, whether religious or domestic (see section V, pp. 312–13). In this more general sense, then, the wives in a polygamous household should share the available work between them in accordance with both their individual talents and the accepted rules of precedence. In fact, the rule is vague enough to allow for almost any eventuality. (For a vivid autobiographical account by a co-wife of life in a joint family today, see Bennett 1983:187–200.)

19. *pratidinam ekā śuśrūṣādi kartum aśaktā cet tadā dinakramena yathā-jyaiṣṭhyam śuśrūṣām kuryāt // ekasmin dine yady ekā kṛtsnam kartum aśaktā tadā sarvās tat karma yathājñānam vibhajya kuryuḥ // Sdhp.8v.2–4.*

20. *tathā ca kātyāyanāḥ // dinakrame yathākarma yathājyaiṣṭhyam aśaktitāḥ / vibhajyu sahasā kuryur yathājñānam aśaktitāḥ // iti // Sdhp.8v.4–6 (Kāty.) < Kāty.Sm.19.5 (dinatravēṇa vā for dinakrame yathā; svāśaktitāḥ for aśaktitāḥ; saha vā for sahasā; ca śāstravat for aśaktitāḥ; Jīv.); Sm.M.I. p.157 (dinakramena vā for dinakrame yathā; jyestham for jyaiṣṭhyam, Kāty.); Gobh.Sm.II.160 (as Sm.M. except svāśaktitāḥ for aśaktitāḥ; saha vā for sahasā; aśāthyavat for aśaktitāḥ; Ān.). Cf. Dh. kośa I.ii.p.1109; Apar. on Yājñ.I.88; Par.M.I.ii.p.117 (all attrib. to Kāty.).*

*At which point should the wife participate?*

According to Tryambaka, the ritual 'adorning of the fire' (*agnyalāṅkarāṇam*) — which he has already established as the wife's part in the ceremony (section II.B. pp. 107-15) — 'should be performed immediately after such activities as sweeping round (the fires; *parisamūhanādy*)'.<sup>21</sup> His evidence for this is a quotation attributed to Baudhāyana. 'The (learned) teachers declare that one should always (i.e. when oblations are offered) sweep around (the fires), sprinkle water around (them), strew *darbha* grass around (them), pour water around (them), put fuel on (them), and (then) adorn (the hearth).'<sup>22</sup>

These are all preliminary rituals to be performed after the fires have been lit (*uddharāṇam*; see below) and before the central ritual of offering cow's milk into the fire. *Parisamūhana* is the ritual of wiping with a wet hand three times around each of the three fires in turn, moving from the north-east to the north and keeping one's right side towards the fire, while reciting mantras (Śāṅkh.gr.I.7.11; Āśv.gr.I.3.1. and comm.). According to some, it is performed either before or after the *agnihotra* offering; according to others, it is performed both before and after it (Āp.śr.VI.3.1-3; Hir.śr.III.7.16, p.341). Tryambaka evidently assumes it should be done beforehand. *Paryukṣaṇa* is the ritual sprinkling of water with mantras around each of the fires, again going from north-east to north (Āśv.śr.II.2.11-13 and comm.; Mān.śr.I.6.1.10). *Paristarana* is the ritual scattering of *darbha* grass round the fires as in the *darśapūrṇamāsa* sacrifice; that is, so that the grasses to the east and west point north, and those to the north and south point east (Kāty.śr.IV.13.15 and comm.; Āp.śr.VI.3.5; Hir.śr.III.7.16, p.341; Mān.śr.I.6.1.11). *Parisevana* is the ritual pouring of water around the fires (Āp.śr.VI.5.4, Rudradatta comm.). *Upasamādhāna* is the act of placing fuel on the fires to ensure that they are burning properly. In Baudhāyana's list of preliminary ritual acts, that of adorning the hearth comes after these.

It is clear, even from this brief quotation, that Tryambaka's

21. *agnyalāṅkarāṇam ca parisamūhanādyantaram kartavyam // Sdhp.8v.6.*

22. *tathā ca bodhāyanah // sarvatra parisamūhanaparyukṣanaparistara [na]-parisevanopasamādhānālāṅkarāṇam ity ācāryāḥ // iti // Sdhp.8v.6-7 (Baudh.) < ?*

emphasis is quite different from that of Baudhāyana. The latter merely lists the various actions leading up to the offering of milk, without indicating which should be performed by whom. Tryambaka, having defined the wife's participation in the ritual as *alaṅkāra*, uses Baudhāyana's quotation to demonstrate when she should play her part.

According to some, however, all that is required of the *patnī* is her presence. Kāty.śr.IV.13.13, quoted above (section II B, p. 121), explains that the *patnī* enters the sacrificial enclosure and takes her place in the *vihāra* in the same way as her husband does. But the *paddhati* on the commentary remarks that, according to oral tradition (*sampradāya*), the *patnī* does nothing else beyond taking her seat (*upaveśanavyatiriktam patnī kim api na karoti*; Weber edn., p. 404). Now even the act of decorating the hearth is denied her. Moreover, as Tryambaka turns his attention to the issue of when the *patnī* should take her seat, he too seems to have accepted this even more restrictive definition of her role. For there is in fact no further reference to her participation in the ritual.

Tryambaka continues. 'Āpastamba declares that the *patnī* should take her seat in her own place immediately after the ritual of milking.'<sup>23</sup> The quotation reads as follows. 'The *agnihotra* should be performed by a man together with his wife; the wife should take her seat in her own place.'<sup>24</sup> 'However, Baudhāyana maintains that the wife should take her seat immediately after the fire has been taken (from the *gārhapatya* fire to light the other two fires).'<sup>25</sup> The quotation for this statement reads: 'the *patnī* should be present at the evening and the morning (sacrifice).'<sup>26</sup>

The *patnī*'s 'own place' (*svāyatana*) is the seat assigned to her for the duration of the ritual, to the south-west of the *gārhapatya* fire (Āp.śr.II.5.2; Baudh.I.7.15.26; Sen 1982: plan 4).

The ritual of milking (*dohana*) is described in some detail in the *śrautasūtras*. According to some, the *agnihotra* cow may not be

23. *dohanānantaram svāyatane patnyupaveśanam āhāpastambah* // Sdhp. 8v.8.

24. *patnīvad asyāgnihotram bhavati* // *svāyatane patny upaviśati* // Sdhp. 8v.8–9 (Āp.) < Āp.śr.VI.5.1–2. Cf. note 34, below.

25. *bodhāyanas tu [/] uddharānāntaram evopaveśanam āha* // Sdhp.8v.9

26. *sāyam prātar evaisā patny anvāste* // *iti* // Sdhp.8v.9–10 (Baudh.) < Baudh.śr.III.4.8.Cf. section II.D, p.234, note 2.

milked by a *śūdra* (Kāty.śr.IV.14.1); according to others, it may (Āp.śr.VI.3.11–14). According to some, the cow should be accompanied by a male calf (*pumvatsa*; Kāty.śr.IV.14.1); according to others, the calf may be female (*strīvatsa*; Śāṅkh.śr.II.8.6–7). The cow is placed to the south of the *āhavaniya* enclosure with its head facing north, north-east or east. The calf is brought to it, then taken away. Finally, the cow is milked. A special earthenware vessel (*agnihotrasthālī*; defined Āp.śr.VI.3.7 and comm.) is used to collect the milk (Kāty.śr.IV.14.1 and comm.; Āp.śr.VI.3.15).

*Uddharanam* is the ritual lighting of the *āhavaniya* fire with a brand or coals taken from the *gārhapatya* (*gārhapatyād āhavaniyasyoddharanam*; Kāty.śr.IV.13.2). It is performed by the priest and is the first of the series of rituals that form the *agnihotra* sacrifice. Soon afterwards, the sacrificer takes his place (Kāty.śr.IV.13.12). The *patnī* enters the *vihāra* at the same juncture and along the same path (Kāty.śr.IV.13.13). According to the *Baudhāyanaśrautasūtra*, before the cow is milked, the priest should enflame the *gārhapatya* fire, transport the flame to the *āhavaniya*, and arrange the sacrificial utensils (Baudh.śr.III.4.1–6). In this text, however, there is no clear instruction concerning when the *patnī* should take her place. The *sūtra* quoted by Tryambaka (Baudh.śr.III.4.8; see note 26) merely makes the general statement that her presence is required at the sacrifice. Moreover, Tryambaka fails to mention the following *sūtra* which seriously undermines this ruling: that is, according to some, she need only attend the evening sacrifice (*sāyamsāyam ity eke*; Baudh.śr.III.4.9), and not the morning one at all. However, he does quote it in his section on evening rituals (see section IID, note 2). Mān.śr.I.6.2.16 agrees (*sāyam patny anvāste na prātāḥ*). In the *Āpastambaśrautasūtra*, on the other hand, the instructions referring to the *patnī* are given after both the *uddharana* and *dohana* rituals have been described (Āp.śr.VI.5.1–2) Sdhp.8v.8–9, note 24). But this is not exclusive to the *patnī*. For in Āp.śr.VI.5.3, we read that the sacrificer too must make his way to his seat in the prescribed way. Thus both sacrificer and wife are present for the crucial *homa* ritual.

Tryambaka concludes. ‘The important thing is that both (husband and wife) should be present for the *homa* offering.’<sup>27</sup>

27. *home tūbhayoh sannidhānam mukham* // Sdhp.8v.10.

*How important is the presence of either husband or wife?*

Tryambaka begins with the question of the husband's absence. 'If the sacrificer is not present then his wife certainly should be.'<sup>28</sup> He quotes Kātyāyana. 'If both husband and wife are absent, the sacrifice may not be performed by a priest. For when both (husband and wife) are absent, the offering is worthless.'<sup>29</sup> 'But if a brahmin has business to take care of, he may assign (the responsibility of) the fire to his wife, appoint a priest (to conduct the ritual), and then leave home. But he should not stay away for long unnecessarily.'<sup>30</sup>

The first point to notice here is that the religious obligation to perform the daily *agnihotra* ritual does not require a man to stay at home all the time. Indeed, the absence of the householder was a common enough occurrence for rulings to be made about it. This becomes particularly obvious when we realize what is meant by 'leaving home'. Trik.III.62–4 and 66 define it variously as going to the outskirts of the village (*gramāntam*), going beyond the village boundary (*sīmāntam*), crossing a river that flows directly into the sea (*nādīm ambudhigāminīm*), and so on. Such constricting definitions make it necessary for the husband to be allowed to 'leave home'. The resulting rulings lay down what constitutes a good reason for going; and what precautions he should take. Manu IX. 74, for example, declares that a man who has business to attend to (*kāryavān*) away from home should see to the maintenance of his wife while he is away; for even a virtuous woman is corrupted when distressed for the lack of it (*avṛttikarsitā*). A man might journey abroad for any number of reasons related to his individual fulfilment (*puruṣārtha*, Medh.; as opposed to reasons relating to the sacrifice, *kratvartha*). Manu IX.76 mentions several: religious reasons

28. *yajamānāsannidhāne patnyāvāsyam sannihitayā bhavitavyam* // Sdhp. 8v.10–9r. 1.

29. *tathā ca kātyāyanah* // *asamakṣam tu dampatiyor hotavyam na rtvig-ādinā / dvayor apy asamakṣam tu bhaved dhutam anarthakam* // Sdhp.9r.1–2 (Kāty.) < Sm.C.II.p.424 (Kāty); Par.M.I.i.p.312 (Kāty.); Gobh.Sm.III.1 (hi for *tu*; Ān.); Kāty.Sm.20.1 (Jīv.; as Ān.). Cf. note 40.

30. *nikṣipyāgnim svadāresu parikalpya rtvijam tathā / pravaset kāryavān vipro na vr̥thaiva ciram vase* // Sdhp.9r.2–3 (Kāty.) < Sm.C.II.p.424 (vr̥thaiva *na* for *na* vr̥thaiva, Kāty.); Par.M.I.i.p.312 (as Sm.C. except *parikalpyā* for *parikalpya*°; Kāty.); Kāty.Sm.19.1 (as Sm.C. except *kvacit* for *vaset*; Jīv.); Gobh.Sm.II.156 (as Jīv. except *parikalpyā*°; *mṛṣaiva* for *vr̥thaiva*).

(*dharma**kāryārtham*); to acquire learning (*vidyārtham*); to gain fame or ensure a good reputation (*yaśo 'rtham*); and for the sake of pleasure (*kāmārtham*; glossed by Kull. as *bhāryāntaropabhogaṛtham*, ‘to enjoy the favours of another woman’, or perhaps ‘another wife’).

Manu’s concern is to lay down rules for how long a woman should wait for her husband to return. Tryambaka, in his section on the duties of the wife whose husband is away, explains how such a woman should dress and behave (see p. 291). Here, however, he is concerned with the arrangements that a man must make regarding the daily fire ritual if he has to go away.

Tryambaka’s emphasis is quite different from Manu’s. While the latter decrees that a deserted wife should wait for her husband for three, six or eight years (Manu IX.76), Tryambaka insists that he should not stay away long without good reason. While Manu and his commentators list the reasons a man might have to go away, Tryambaka rules that the only acceptable reason for such a journey is to earn money in order to pay the costs of the daily fire sacrifice. Moreover, the freedom to leave home to earn this money applies only to the man, never to his wife.

Tryambaka explains. ‘This injunction regarding leaving home is acceptable (only) for the purpose of earning money and only in relation to a man. In the case of the wife (*patnī*), since she does not (or is not expected to) earn money, she need not leave home.’<sup>31</sup> Tryambaka uses the word *patnī* here to suit the context of the wife who participates in the joint sacrifice. The ruling itself, however, would clearly apply to any wife. Tryambaka does not consider the question of the unsupported wife; Manu does. If a man goes away without providing for his wife in his absence, she may earn her own living by ‘blameless handicrafts’ (*śilpair agarhitair*; Manu IX.75). Tryambaka, writing from within the sheltered confines of a court, evidently does not envisage the possibility of a wife needing to earn money for herself. But if such a thing were necessary, like Manu, Tryambaka would undoubtedly expect her to earn her living within the home. According to the *Trikāndamandana*, however, a wife may travel abroad as long as either her husband or one of her co-wives is tending the sacred fires (Trik.III.67; cf. III.58,61).

31. *ayam ca pravāsavidhiḥ / arthārthatatayā puruṣasyaivānumataḥ // patnyāś tu [V] arthārjunābhāvān na pravāsah // Sdhp.9r.3–4.*

Tryambaka continues with an unattributed quotation taken from the *Trikāñḍamāṇḍana*. ‘But (it is otherwise) for a man. It is reasonable for a man who performs the (daily) *agnihotra* ritual to leave home in order to earn money, because the sacrifice can only take place if there is money (to pay for it). But he should not go away for (other reasons) such as going on a pilgrimage (*tīrthādyarthatam*).’<sup>32</sup> In fact, ‘leaving home for the purpose of going on a pilgrimage is forbidden on account of this ruling that (staying at) home and (attending to) all the duties of the household(er) is the best thing for the man who is entitled to perform sacrificial rituals. Thus the ancient sages forbid the man who is established in the householder stage of life to go (on any pilgrimage) to a sacred place.’<sup>33</sup>

Tryambaka’s description of the sacrifice that can only take place if there is sufficient money is obviously a reference to the *śrauta* fires (see pp.103–5). These are established, not at marriage like the *aupāsana* fire, but when a man already has a son and is wealthy enough to be able to afford to pay the priests. Vas.VIII.9 explains that a man who has ‘enough (wealth) to set up the (three) fires’ (*alam agnyādheyāya*) should become an *agnihotrin*. And if he has ‘enough’ to cover the expenses of a *soma* sacrifice (*alam ca somāya*), then he should perform that too (Vas.VIII.10). *Alam* is glossed by Devanāṇabhaṭṭa as *samartha*: if, that is, he has the ‘capacity’ or ‘means’ (Sm.C.II.p.417). With regard to the *soma* sacrifice, this ‘capacity’ or ‘means’ is defined by Manu XI.7 as having enough food to support one’s dependants (*bhrtyavṛttaye*) for three years or more (*traivārsikam bhaktam . . . adhikam vāpi*; cf. Yājñ.I.124; Sm.C.II.p.417–18). With regard to setting up the *śrauta* fires, Devanāṇabhaṭṭa explains that a man must be wealthy (*dhane sati*), not poor (*nirdhanah*, Prajāpati; *alpadhanah*, Dev.; Sm.C.II. p.420). This is undoubtedly what Tryambaka means when he rules that a man may leave home in order to earn money for the sacrifice. Only if the sacrifice itself is endangered by the lack of money to pay

32. *puruṣasyāpi* [ ] *dhanāny arjayitum yuktaḥ pravāso hy agnihotrināḥ / dhanair hi sambhaved ijjā tīrthādyarthatam tu na vrajet* // Sdhp.9r.4–5 < Trik. I.96b–97a.

33. *yasyeṣṭidharmaś adikārītāsti varuṇ gr̥ham gr̥hadharmāś ca surve / evam gr̥asthāśramasamsthitasya tīrthe gatiḥ pūrvatarair niṣiddhā* // *iti vacanena tīrthārthatam pravāsaḥ pratiṣiddhyate* // Sdhp.9r.4–7.

expenses may the householder (i.e. *agnihotrin*) relinquish his personal responsibility for it, and that only briefly.

Unlike Manu IX.76, Tryambaka does not allow the householder to leave home for the sake of glory or amorous adventures. Even the desire to visit sacred places, such as the Ganges or the Himalayas, is unacceptable. Given the history of the Thanjavur Marathas (see Leslie 1983(2):appendix B), this is curious. For every one of their grandfathers, householders by definition, must have left their homes in Maharashtra to seek their fortunes in the south. Some of them may have taken their wives with them at the outset, but most must have travelled alone, perhaps sending for their wives and families later. This is an important point. For these rules apply only to the householder who leaves home alone. If he takes his wife with him, then he should also take the sacred fires. Husband and wife would thus continue to perform the *agnihotra* together. But if he travels alone, the fires must remain at home under the guardianship of his wife; and in that case, he should only leave home in order to earn money to pay for the sacrifice. Clearly, those engaged in or accompanying military expeditions a generation or two earlier took little notice of such requirements. They were similarly untroubled by rulings that one's right to sacrifice is destroyed by living in another country, for example, in such barbarous places as Bengal and Kalinga (e.g. Trik.I.164).

The *Smṛticandrikā* makes some allowance in this direction. According to *Paithīnasi*, if one's sacrificial duties are interrupted as a result of being harassed by enemies (*pīdyamānasya śatrubhiḥ*), then one is allowed two months' grace (Sm.C.II.p.436). Perhaps by Tryambaka's time, in the uneasy peace of Mughal supervision, such a proviso was no longer necessary. Perhaps by then the rulings of pious brahmins were more firmly reinstated. Or perhaps Tryambaka merely believed they should be. Alternatively, the ruling that a *kṣatriya* (and a *vaiśya*; comm. on Āśv.śr.II.1.3–5) might send food to a brahmin in lieu of the ritual may have been made precisely to allow him more time to attend to his main occupation (see pp. 122–3).

Tryambaka returns to an earlier statement and quotation concerning the *patni* (see note 24 above). 'With reference to the wife, however, Āpastamba's ruling that "the *agnihotra* should be (performed) by a man together with his wife" defines the close connection (*sambandha*) of the wife to the sacrifice. She should therefore

never abandon the *agnihotra*, nor stay elsewhere.<sup>34</sup>

The plural term, *āpastambācāryaiḥ* (see notes 34, 44) requires some clarification. Its use here, as in most late texts, indicates not several 'teachers' but a single authority deserving of special respect. Initially a custom in modern Indian languages (e.g. Marathi, Gujarati), especially with named teachers, this honorific plural percolated back into Sanskrit at a fairly late date (LSJ). Since Tryambaka reserves such respect solely for Āpastamba, this almost certainly means that he belonged to the *Āpastambasākhā* of the *Kṛṇayajurveda* tradition (cf. p. 25: Leslie 1983 (2), appendix C).

'Staying elsewhere' means away from home and thus away from the *agnihotra* enclosure and the sacrifice. Tryambaka's point is that there is an essential link between the *patnī* and the sacrifice; more specifically, between the *patnī* and the sacred fires. I shall return to this point below. For the moment, we need only note that the sacrifice may proceed in the absence of the husband but never in the absence of the wife (cf. Trik.III.57–60; but also Trik.III.61).

Tryambaka anticipates the objection that the wife should be allowed to go on pilgrimages. It is certainly true that all over India today large numbers of women embark on long pilgrimages, both for their own and for their families' sakes (cf. Morinis 1984:302); and it seems likely that it was always so. (For a statistical analysis of the purposes of pilgrimage in West Bengal today, see Morinis 1984:312–16; for a more general account of pilgrim motivation throughout India, see Bhardwaj 1983:148–62.) But the practice is condemned most emphatically by Tryambaka.

'According to the scriptures, all the rewards obtained by visiting sacred places are (to be found) in the *agnihotra* itself.'<sup>35</sup> Tryambaka quotes from the *Trikāndamāṇḍana*. 'Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Sūrya, cows and brahmins, ancestors and gods, ritual observances, places of pilgrimage and austerities; all these are (to be found) in the *agnihotra* hall.'<sup>36</sup> The quotation continues with three lines of

34. *patnyāś tu [V] patnīvad asyāgnihotram bhavati* (< Āp.śr.VI.5.1) // *iti āpastambācāryaiḥ [V] agnihotre patnisambandhaniyamanāt* // *agnihotram vihāya kutrāpi na stheyam* // Sdhp.9r.7–9 (niyamāt, 'ruling' is corrected in the margin to *niyamanāt*, 'definition'). Cf. 24.

35. *agnihotra eva sarvatīrthaphalāvāpter avagamāc ca* // Sdhp.9r.9–10.

36. *tathā ca trikāndamāṇḍanāḥ* // *brahmā viṣṇuh śivah sūryo goviprāh pitrdevatāḥ* / *agnihotragṛhe santi vrataśīratapāmsi ca* // Sdhp.9r.10–9v.1 (Trik.) < Trik.I.97b–98a.

commentary that qualify the claim. ‘But we say that not even all the places of pilgrimage (together) can equal the *agnihotra*. Or, alternatively, only when a (learned) brahmin has relinquished his right to perform the sacrifice (*yajñādhikāre . . . nivṛtte*) may he wander about visiting sacred places. For the great sages who are by nature without sin have declared that the merit (to be found) in (visiting) a sacred place is the reward of the sacrifice.’<sup>37</sup> For, as the *Trikāṇḍamandana* explains elsewhere, all sacred places reside in the altar itself (*sarvāṇi tīrthāṇi vasanti vedyām*), and all deities may be worshipped in the *agnihotra* ritual; it is therefore pointless (*vyaartham*) to journey abroad in order to worship any one of these (Trik., *prakīrnakāṇḍa* 27). Interestingly, Morinis’ comments on ‘the anti-pilgrimage tradition in Hinduism’ do not even touch on this orthodox, specifically dharmaśāstric theme of the rejection of pilgrimage on the grounds of the superiority of the *agnihotra* ritual; presumably because it has little relevance today (1984:74–6).

The question of going on pilgrimages is raised in two other sections of Tryambaka’s treatise. In his rulings on things to be avoided, the practice of going on pilgrimages (*tīrthayātra*) is included among the six things that cause women and śūdras to fall (*striśūdrapatanāni sat*; see section IV, note 7). In the section on general behaviour (see p. 273–4), a lengthy passage attributed to Brhaspati’s praise of Lopāmudrā in the *Skandapurāṇa* includes the following. ‘(The good wife) should stay well away from festivals and public gatherings. She should not go on pilgrimages and so on, or to such things as weddings or public shows.’<sup>38</sup> ‘If a woman wants to bathe in a sacred place (*tīrthasnānārthīnī*), then she should drink the water used to bathe her husband’s feet (*patipādodakam*). For, in the case of a woman, her own husband is superior to even Śankara (Siva) or Viṣṇu.’<sup>39</sup>

37. *survāṇi tīrthāṇy api cāgnihotratulyāṇi naiveti vayam vadāmaḥ // yajñādhikāre 'py athavā nivṛtte vīpras tu tīrthāṇi paribhramet tu // tīrthe phalam yajñuphalum hi yasmāt proktam munīndrair amalasvabhāvaiḥ // iti // Sdhp.9v. 1–3 (Trik.) < ? Not in the anonymous commentary in Calcutta edition of Trik.*

38. *dūrato varjayed eṣā samājotsavadarśanam / nu gacchet tīrthayātrādi-vivāhaprekṣaṇādiṣu // Sdhp.23v.2 (Skānda) < Sk.P.III.2.7.24b–25a.*

39. *tīrthasnānārthīnī nārī patipādodakam pibet / śāṅkarād api viṣṇor vā patir eko 'dhikah striyāḥ // Sdhp.23v.10–24r.1 (Skānda) < Sk.P.III.2.7.36 / caiva for nārī; viṣṇoh patir evādhikah for visnor vā patir eko 'dhikah).*

The latter ruling seems to presuppose a brahmin husband, for the water used to give a ritual (as opposed to a 'dirt-removing') bath to the feet of brahmins is traditionally considered purifying, on a par with the waters of the Ganges. Similarly, at a traditional initiation ceremony (when it genuinely indicates the beginning of Vedic education), men and (especially) women come to receive the *tīrtha* or purifying water used to bathe the initiate's feet. Water is ceremonially dropped onto the child's big toe, collected and given as *angusthajala*. Nowadays, since most brahmin boys go through the ritual before going to ordinary schools, the water has no such purifying properties. Even fifty years ago, however, orthodox women in Maharashtra still drank the *angusthajala* of their brahmin husbands (LSJ). According to Lynn Bennett, village women in Nepal still do this before every rice meal (1938:174-5; and a striking photograph of a wife washing her husband's feet before drinking the *gora pani* or 'foot water', p. 175 and cover; see also section IIC, pp. 221-7).

To return to the *Strīdharmapaddhati*, the parallel rulings for the husband (in this section) and for the wife (section IV, pp. 273-4), are startlingly different. Both are forbidden to go on pilgrimages but, while the man is directed to find the fruits of pilgrimage in the fire sacrifice, his wife should seek them in the water used to bathe her husband's feet. The difference in the religious spheres of husband and wife could not be more graphically stressed.

Regarding Tryambaka's assertion that a brahmin may indulge in pilgrimages only when he has relinquished his right to perform the sacrifice, this only occurs when he renounces the life of the householder to become a forest hermit or an ascetic. As long as he is a householder, therefore, he will gain greater merit by performing the sacrifice than by any other form of worship. This ruling — given in the masculine, and applied by Tryambaka to the *patnī* and thus, by extension, to all women — presupposes the *āśrama* system. According to the ideal classification presented by Manu (i.e. the later *samuccaya* version), a man should progress from childhood through four temporary stages: Vedic student, householder, forest hermit, and renouncer or ascetic. The artificiality of the system is clear, evidence of the orthodox delight in classification. In fact, as indicated above, early formulations of the theory give the four *āśramas* as alternatives (Gaut.I.3.1-3,35; Baudh.II.6.11.12-16,27). As the ascetic movement grew, however, it became important to

assimilate the new ideas into the orthodox system. The theory of the four successive stages emerged with renunciation as an integral part at the end of the line (Manu IV.1, VI.33; Olivelle 1974, 1978, 1984; cf. section I, pp. 44–5).

But none of this applies to women (cf. Leslie 1980:46ff.; 1983(1): 99 ff.). In all *dharmaśāstra* texts, women are dealt with outside the framework of *āśrama*. We have already seen how they were gradually excluded from Vedic studentship (see section I). For men, the third *āśrama* soon became obsolete (cf. Olivelle 1978:32). For women, it had only ever been a continuation of married life. For, as Manu explains, a man embarking on this stage may either commit his wife to his sons' keeping (*putresu . . . nikṣipyā*) or take her with him (VI.3). For her, it is simply another form of wisely obedience, not a voluntary renunciation on her own behalf. The fourth *āśrama* was theoretically barred to women as it was to *śūdras* (cf. Olivelle 1984:113–15). For, according to the rules of *dharmaśāstra*, only those who had embarked on the first stage of Vedic education could graduate to the fourth. Women were excluded on social grounds too. For renunciation implies independence from family and social control whereas women were seen to be always dependent (Manu V.147–9; Vas.V.1–2; cf. section IV, p. 276, note 9). Apart from women's lack of freedom, the concept of 'female ascetic' is itself an anomaly. For women are so identified with both family life and sexual pleasure that the idea of a woman renouncing these things is (from the orthodox male point of view) a contradiction in terms. Nonetheless, the renunciation of women was a common enough occurrence for there to be frequent rulings against it (e.g. Manu VIII. 363; Yājñ.II.293; Viṣ.Sm.XXV.12). Tryambaka even includes the female ascetic (*pravrajitā, śramaṇā*) among the types of women the virtuous wife should strive to avoid (see pp. 170–2).

In the realm of *dharmaśāstra*, however, a woman may never renounce the household life of her own volition, either to go into the forest as a hermit or to pursue the ascetic life. From the man's point of view, she is the household. Separation from it comes only with death—her own or her husband's—or with disgrace. Only as a widow (cf. Vas.19.29,33–4) or an abandoned woman may she wander from place to place. As a respectable wife, certainly as the privileged *patnī*, she should remain with the sacred fires at home.

Tryambaka returns to the quotation already given above (see note 29) and attributed there to Kātyāyana. 'When both (husband

and wife) are absent, the offering is worthless.' According to Tryambaka, 'the ruling concerning the close connection between the *patnī* (and the sacred fires of the *agnihotra*) is equally applicable to the *aupāsana* ritual since Kātyāyana's statement given above is common (to both).'<sup>40</sup>

The question of Tryambaka's relative interest in and distinction between the *śrauta* and *grhya* rituals is discussed above (see pp. 103–5). More important, what is the special relationship between the *patnī* and the sacred fire or fires? According to Āpastamba, the wife who is present at the kindling of the fires (*ādhāne hi satī*) becomes linked with the sacrificial rituals performed with them (*karmabhiḥ sambadhyate*; Āp.II.5.11.14; cf. Sm.C.II.p.438). But what effect does this special link have?

The *Smṛticandrikā* discusses the issue at length. According to *śruti*, those who kindle the sacred fires are cremated with them (*āhitāgnibhir dahanti*; Sm.C.II.p.441). In theory, this applies to both sacrificer and wife. As Āpastamba explains, whoever dies first is cremated with the three *śrauta* fires of the *agnihotra*; whoever dies second is cremated with the single *aupāsana* fire (Sm.C.II.p.443). In fact, however, if the *patnī* dies first, the sacrificer may either promote an existing second wife or remarry, rekindling the fires for his second *patnī* (*punah parinīya tayā sahādhanam*; Sm.C.II.p.441). According to Yājñ.I.89, he should do so without delay (*avilambhayān; sīghram eva*, Mit.). For a man should not remain for even a day without an *āśrama* (*anāśramī . . . ksanam ekam api*, Dakṣa I.10; *dinam ekam api*, Mit. on Yājñ.I.89). A widower can, of course, become a renouncer (Baudh.II.10.17.4) but the householder's life is always preferred. In *dharmaśāstra*, there is the constant suggestion that only those unable to be householders (such as the crippled or impotent) should 'renounce' the householder way (cf. Olivelle 1984:34). But before the widower may resume the householder's sacrificial duties, his *patnī* and the sacred fires associated with her must be burned up together, and replaced. It follows that a junior wife may never be cremated with the sacred fires while the *patnī* is still alive (Sm.C.II.p.440, Viṣṇu; Mit. on Yājñ.I.89).

40. *ayam ca patnīsambandhaniyama aupāsane 'pi tulyah // dvayor apy asamakṣam tu bhaved dhutam anarthakam iti pūrvoktakātyāyanavacanasya sādhāraṇatvāt // Sdhp.9v.3–5. Cf. note 29.*

This link between the sacred fires and the *patnī* is not indissoluble. Yājñ.1.89 specifies that the wife cremated in this way should be well-behaved (*vṛttavatī*; glossed by Dev. and Mit. as *ācāravatī*). Kātyāyana spells out the proviso. The *patnī* may only be cremated with the sacred fires if she has fulfilled her religious obligations and behaved virtuously (*dharmaśārī sādhvī*). If she has been difficult (*viparītā*), then she should not be cremated in this way; and the husband should remarry anyway (Sm.C.II.p.441, Kāty.). In fact, as the *Trikāṇḍamāṇḍana* demonstrates, there were several views on this issue of when to reset the fires. According to Trik.III.92, for example, a junior wife may not be cremated with the *śrauta* fires. According to Trik.III.94, any wife ‘without distinction’ (*strīmātram aviśeṣena*) may be cremated with the *śrauta* fires. According to Trik.III.100–1, because of the primary importance (*pradhānatvāt*) of the husband and the obvious secondary importance (*sāksād aṅgatvāt*; comm.) of the wife, her death has no effect at all (cf. comm. on Trik.II.8).

According to the general consensus of opinion, however, if the *patnī* is virtuous, she becomes identified with the sacred fires for the rest of her married life. So great is the identification that her presence at the sacrifice is more important than her husband’s. Moreover, the fires and the ritual die with her, albeit temporarily. The widower is faced with three options. He may renounce the householder life. He may (as discussed briefly above, see pp.114–15) rekindle the fires for himself alone (e.g. Trik.III.128), or with a ‘substitute wife’ made of *kuśa* grass. Or, as most writers on *dharmaśāstra* prefer, he should rekindle the fires with a new *patnī*, thus symbolising the ritual beginning of a new life. The alternatives open to the widow on her husband’s death are strikingly different. She may not rekindle the fires for herself alone, nor make a ‘substitute husband’ for ritual purposes; nor may she rekindle the fires with a new husband and embark upon a new ritual life. Instead, she should either die with her husband (*sahagamana*; see section IV, pp. 291–8), or live out her days in ascetic and celibate widowhood (*vidhavādharma*; see section IV, pp. 298–304). For only in her husband’s lifetime is her ritual (and social) status assured.

*Is the patnī the ritual agent of the sacrifice?*

Given the identification of the *patnī* with the sacred fires, and the

importance of her presence at the sacrifice, should she be considered the performer of the sacrifice? May she officiate in her husband's absence? According to Tryambaka, she may not.

He discusses the *śrauta* ritual (*agnihotrahōme*) first, beginning with two quotations attributed respectively to *śruti* and *sūtra* literature. They read as follows. First, 'therefore the sacrificial ritual of *agnihotra* involves one priest.'<sup>41</sup> Secondly, 'he (the sacrificer) should perform the sacrifice himself on *parvan* days, and at other times one of the priests should do it.'<sup>42</sup> As a result of these two rulings, as Tryambaka points out, 'in the case of the *agnihotra* oblation, there can be no assumption that the *patnī* is the agent (of the sacrifice) since the priest and the sacrificer are so defined.'<sup>43</sup>

The *parvan* days are the 'junctures' of the month, the especially sacred times of the new and full moon (*amāvāsyā* and *pūrnimā*; cf. comm. on Āśv.śr.II.4.2). The phrase 'one of the priests' (*rtvijām eka[h]*) is a reference to the general rule that sacrificial rituals (*yajñakratu*) normally require four priests. Even *soma* sacrifices involving sixteen priests have four main ones with three assistants each (Āśv.śr.IV.1.6; Āp.śr.X.1.8–9). In the *agnyādheya*, *darsa-pūrnamāsa* and other *īśṭis*, only four are necessary: *adhvaryu*, *āgnīdhra*, *hotṛ*, and *brahman*; and all are given the general name of *rtvij*. Of these, only the *adhvaryu* is required for the *agnihotra* ritual.

The word *yajamāna* is assumed without comment to denote the male sacrificer alone. Both the early acceptance of a 'sacrificing married couple' (*yajamānadampatyoḥ*; Sāy. on R.V.VIII.31.5) and the much-debated question of the modification (*ūha*) of gender (see section I, pp. 39–43) are long forgotten.

Tryambaka next considers the *aupāsana* ritual. His evidence is a quotation from Āpastamba, again accorded the plural of respect (see pp. 135–6, note 34). 'An offering is scorned (by the gods) if it is performed by a woman or an uninitiated person (*anupetena*), or if it is mixed with alkaline (*kṣāra*) or saline (*lavaṇa*) substances or with inferior food (*avarānna*).'<sup>44</sup> Tryambaka concludes that, ac-

41. *agnihotrahōme* // Sdhp.9v.5. *tasmād agnihotrasya yajñakrator eka rtvik* // Sdhp.9v.5 (*śruti*) < ?

42. *svayam parvani juhuyāt / rtvijām eka itaram kālam* // *iti* // Sdhp.9v.5–6. (*sūtra*) < Āśv.śr.II.4.2–3 (*yavāgvā payasā vā svayam . . . etc.*; i.e. 'with rice-gruel or milk').

43. (*agnihotrahōme . . . iti*) *śrutisūtrābhīyām rtvigyajamānayor eva niyamanāt patnyāḥ kartrtvaprasaktir eva nāsti* // Sdhp.9v.5–7.

cording to this statement, 'in the *aupāsana* oblation too, the agency of the *patnī* is prohibited.'<sup>44</sup>

The term *upeta* means literally 'one who has entered into or approached'; as in (*a*)*vyañjanopeta*, 'a girl who has (or has not yet) reached puberty'. On its own, and in the context of *dharmaśāstra*, it invariably means 'one who has approached a teacher for initiation'. Strictly speaking, the term denotes a boy who has begun his studies but not yet completed them. For example, the rulings on food in the *Āpastambadharmaśūtra* include the statement that an *upeta* should not eat the leftovers (*ucchiṣṭa*; see section IIC, pp. 221–7) of women or an *anupeta* (Āp.II.4.9.7). The *Ujjvalā* glosses the former term as 'one who has undergone the initiation ceremony but who has not yet (completed his studies and) returned home' (*kṛtopanayano samāvṛttah*; Ujj. on Āp.II.4.9.7); that is, the *brahmacārin*. Since this is so (*evam sati*), the commentary continues, then one who has completed his studies and returned home (the *snātaka*) incurs no such sin (*samāvṛttasyocchiṣṭam bhūjījanasya na doṣah syāt*; Ujj. on Āp.II.4.9.7, Benares edn.). The distinction is an interesting one, as we shall see in Tryambaka's section on food (section IIC, pp. 210–33), and in particular, in the subsection concerning the wife's own meal (pp. 221–7). A similar distinction is implied in the *Āśvalāyanagrhyasūtra*. After a series of rulings relating to the Vedic student, Āsv.gr.I.23.21 explains that they apply to a boy who has not been initiated before (*ity anupetapūrvasya*). The subsequent rules apply to one who *has* been initiated before (*athopetapūrvasya*; Āsv.gr.I.23.22). Nārāyaṇa does not comment on either term, but it is clear that a person who has completed his Vedic studentship would not return to the teacher a second time: the term must therefore denote a drop-out from traditional Vedic education; that is, one who has been initiated but has failed to complete his studies as required.

More frequently, however, the term is used as a synonym for *upanīta* ('an initiated person'; cf. *upetah*, Yājñ.III.2, *upanītah*, Mit.; Karkopādhyaḥyāya, Jayarāma, Harihara etc. on Pār.gr.III.10.10) or *upavīta* ('one invested with the sacred thread'); and the comple-

44. *aupāsanahome 'pi // Sdhp.9v.7. striyānupetena kṣāralavaṇāvarānnasamsṛṣṭasya ca homam paricakṣate (< Āp.gr.III.8.3; Baudh.gr.II.1.34 (*tu* for *ca*)) ity āpastambācāryaiḥ kartrtvam pratisiddham / Sdhp.9v.7–8 (Āp.). Cf. Āp.II.6.15.14–15, 17–18.*

tion of Vedic studies is assumed. In its more common negative form (*anupeta*; glossed by Sudarśana on Āp.gr.III.8.3 as *anupanīta*, Benares edn.), it denotes either an adult male who is theoretically of the first three *varṇas* but has never in fact been initiated; or a male child, born to parents of the first three *varṇas*, who has not yet been initiated but will be. The first meaning is exemplified by Āp.I.1.1.32 which rules that if a man's father and grandfather were never initiated (*yasya pitā pitāmaha ity anupetau*), then both he and they are deemed to be 'brahmin-killers' (*syātām te brahmahasamstutāḥ*). Consequently, before such a person may be taught the Veda (Āp.I.1.2.4), he must recite certain mantras daily for a whole year for each uninitiated ancestor (*pratipūruṣām saṃkhyāya samvatsarān yāvanto 'nupetāḥ syuh*; Āp.I.1.2.1). In its original context, Tryambaka's quotation (Āp.gr.III.8.10.3; cf. the parallel rulings in Āp.II.6.15.14–15, 17–18) may be interpreted in either way. The issue is what renders a sacrifice invalid and, in particular, whether a woman or an uninitiated man (or boy) may officiate. The answer, for Āpastamba as for Tryambaka, is that they may not (*striyānupetena . . . homam paricakṣate*, Āp.gr.III.8.10.3; *na strī juhuyāt / nānupetāḥ*, Āp.II.6.15.17–18; cf. Manu II.171). It is clear from the context of Tryambaka's treatise that the ruling is given to counteract the suggestion that, if a man is unable to perform the ritual, his wife or young son may do it for him (see below for a further discussion of temporary substitutes).

*Dharmaśāstra* literature defines *kṣāralavanya* in a number of ways. The issue is usually raised either (as here) in relation to which foods may not be offered in a sacrifice (e.g. Āp.gr.III.8.3; Āp.II.6.15.14); or in relation to which foods may not be eaten by individuals in special categories, such as the (celibate) Vedic student (e.g. Āśv.gr.I.22.17; Āp.I.1.2.23; Hir.gr.I.8.2, but cf. v.9), the newly married (and therefore celibate) couple (e.g. Āśv.gr.I.8.10), or those engaged in the ritual period of mourning (and celibacy; e.g. Manu V.73). *Kṣāra* means literally 'sharp' or 'pungent'. It is defined by Haradatta as that which makes one's saliva flow (*lālotpadyate*; Ujj. on Āp.II.6.15.14). According to Nārāyaṇa's commentary on Āśv.gr.I.8.10, however, the term denotes certain types of pulse. For Māṭṛdatta on Hir.gr.I.8.2 (p.108), it is molasses (*gudādir iksuvikārah*). For Sarvajñanārāyaṇa on Manu V.73, it is an alkaline substance (*sarjikādi*; carbonate of soda, Dutt 1922:

88). For Medhātithi on Manu V.73 and the *Mitākṣarā* on Yājñ. III.36, it is made from barley (*yavakṣārādi*; carbonate of potash, Dutt 1922:87). Kullūka on Manu V.73 takes *kṣāralavanya* together as a *karmadhāraya* compound meaning 'manufactured (as opposed to natural) salt' (*kṛtrimalavanya*). In the context of āyurveda, Suśruta distinguishes five categories of *kṣāra* including *yavakṣāra* and *sarjikākṣāra* mentioned above (Meulenbeld 1974:459; Dutt 1922: 21–2, 81–2, 87–8). Āyurveda also distinguishes several kinds of *lavanya* including rock salt (*saindhava*; Medh. on Manu V.73) and sun-dried sea salt (*sāmudra*; Meulenbeld 1974:495–6).

The term *avarānna* ('inferior food') denotes food made from pulses or split peas (*kośīdhānyāni māṣādīni kṛṣṇadhānyāni* . . . etc.; Har. on Ap.gr., Benares edn.). It may be contrasted with 'superior food' made from rice boiled in milk and sugar (*paramānna*; Meulenbeld 1974:471–2). For a discussion of the occurrence of the term *avarānna* in *dharmaśāstra* and *āyurveda*, see Gode 1956:153–60.

The same issue concerning the ritual agency of the *patnī* reaches a different conclusion in the *Smṛticandrikā*. The ruling under discussion there is Manu's statement that only one who is skilled in *vaitāna* (*śrauta*) rites and who has mastered the Veda may offer oblation. Those who do not qualify include the uninitiated, the fool, the man of little learning, and women (Manu XI.36–7). Manu's reference to a girl or young woman (*naiva kanyā na yuvatī*) is taken by Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa to include the *patnī* (*kanyāgrahaṇam patnyā api pradarśanārtham*; Sm.C.II.p.424). More important, Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa insists that the word *agnihotra* indicates that only the *śrauta* ritual is meant (*tac chrautāgniviṣayam agnihotragrahaṇāt*). He concludes with Gobhila (see note 48 below) that the *patnī* may if she likes (*kāmam*) make the morning and evening offerings (*sāyamprātarhomau*) into the *aupāsana* fire (*grhyāgnau*; Sm.C.II. p.424).

In fact, Tryambaka too admits that 'the agency of the *patnī* is accepted by some'.<sup>45</sup> He quotes from six different authorities.

According to Āśvalāyana, 'one should perform the household ritual (*grhyam* for *grhyāgnim*) oneself from the time of marriage onwards (*pāṇigrahaṇādi*; glossed by Nār. as *pāṇigrahaṇaprabhr̥ti*); or one's *patnī*, son, unmarried daughter (*kumāri*) or 'live-in pupil'

45. *anyais tu patnyāḥ kartrtvam angikṛtam // Sdhp.9v.8–9.*

(*antevāśī*; glossed as *sīsyah*, Nār., Dev.) (should do it).<sup>46</sup>

The reference to the son implies a temporary substitute, for the man who hands over his ritual responsibilities to his son on a permanent basis is held to have left the householder stage for the life of the hermit or renunciate. *Kumārī* denotes an unmarried daughter. In the context of the four ages of a woman, the term denotes a girl past puberty, who has left childhood (*bālyā*) behind and is in the three-year (or three-month) period of adolescence during which a husband must be found (*kaumāra*, hence *kaumārī*). She has not yet reached the third stage (*yauvana*); for by then she should be married, and a married woman owes allegiance only to her husband and to the sacrifices pertaining to his household (see above, pp. 86–8).

Two points should be noted here. First, the general tone of Tryambaka's treatise, combined with his insistence that a girl's fertile periods (*ṛtu*) should not be neglected (see section IV, pp. 287–8) suggests that Tryambaka, like most later *nibandhakāras*, advocates prepubertal marriages for girls (cf. the discussion of *nagnikā* above, pp. 86–8). Such a view would not permit an adolescent girl to be still unmarried and in her father's house, and so able to take over his sacrificial duties. It is surprising that Tryambaka has not followed the example of the *Smṛtimuktāphala* and changed *kumāry* to *kuryād* (Sm.M.II.p.355). As it stands, Āśvalāyana's ruling does not accord with the rest of Tryambaka's views.

Secondly, the reference to *kumārī* in this context carries with it the assumption that the man in question has no son to act as temporary substitute. This in turn recalls the concept of the *putrikā*. If a man has no sons then, for religious purposes, he may 'reclassify' his daughter as a son. Both she and later her son will then perform the necessary funeral rites for her father. She may also inherit her father's property in the place of a real son (Manu IX.130). In Vasiṣṭha's list of the twelve kinds of sons deemed acceptable by the ancient seers, the 'appointed daughter' or *putrikā* is listed third (Vas.XVII.15). A parallel list in the *Viṣṇusmṛti* puts the son of such a daughter third (*putrikāputra*; Viṣ.Sm.XV.4). The rite of 'reclassification' takes place during the marriage ceremony when the bride's

46. *tathā cāśvalāyanah // pāṇigrahanādi gr̥hyam paricaret svayam patny api vā putrah kumāry antevāśī vā // iti // Sdhp.9v.9–10 (Āśv.) < Āśv.gr.I.9.1; Sm.C.II.p.423 (pāṇigrahanād adhigṛhyam for pāṇigrahanādī gr̥hyam; final vā omitted; Śaunaka); Sm.M.II.p.355 (pāṇigrahanād adhi<sup>2</sup>; kuryād for kumāry; Śaunaka).*

father lays formal claim to his daughter's son (Vis.Sm.XV.5). By extension, any girl who has no brother, and who thus might be called upon to perform this duty, is called a *putrikā* (Vis.Sm.XV.6). Hence Manu's warning that a wise man should not marry a girl who has no brother (Manu III.11; Yājñ.I.53), for then his own funeral rites and those of his ancestors will be neglected. While Bühler produces both historical and contemporary evidence for the practice (1965:85–6, note 15), according to Kane it has been out of vogue for centuries (PVK II.1.p.435). We may assume that it is very rarely, if ever, encountered nowadays. In Tryambaka's case, it is a further demonstration of the problem of quoting ancient texts to support an eighteenth-century point.

Tryambaka continues. According to Vyāsa, 'a priest, (the householder's) son, *patnī*, pupil or, if he first obtains special permission, his brother (*sahodarah*) may offer sacrifice (in place of the householder) according to the usual rules.'<sup>47</sup>

*Sahodara* means literally 'co-uterine', thus a brother born of the same mother. In the polygamous household envisaged by Tryambaka, a man might have several half-brothers born of his father's different wives; these are excluded by Vyāsa's ruling. We may also note that, unlike Āśvalāyana, Vyāsa excludes the unmarried daughter too.

According to Gobhila, 'the *patnī* should offer the two oblations of morning and evening into the domestic fire'.<sup>48</sup> The reference to a single fire indicates that the *aupāsana* ritual is under discussion here, not the *śrauta*. Alternatively, according to Bhāradvāja, 'the wife may offer sacrifice, but without reciting the mantras'.<sup>49</sup>

47. vyāso 'pi // ṛtvik putro 'tha vā patnī śiṣyo vāpi sahodarah / prāpyanū-  
jñām viśesena juhuyād vā yathāvidhi // iti // Sdhp.9v.10–10r.1 (Vyāsa; the  
scribe has changed *putro yathā* to *putro tathā*; I have preferred the reading  
*putro 'tha vā*) < Sm.M.II.p.355 (*putro 'tha vā patnī*; Vyāsa); Kūrm.P.II.18.49  
(*putro 'tha patnī vā*); Sm.C.II.p.423 (as Kūrm.P.; attrib. to Vis.P., or, acc.  
to one MS, to Kūrm.P.); Par.M.I.i.p.311 (as Sm.M. except *juhuyur* for  
*juhuyād*; Kūrm.P.).

48. gobhilo 'pi // grhyāgnau juhuyāt patnī sāyam prātaś ca homayoh // iti //  
Sdhp.10r.1–2 (Gobh.) < Sm.M.II.p.355 (Gobh.); Sm.C.II.p.424 (kāmam  
grhyāgnau patnī juhuyāt sāyamprātarhomau, Gobh., preferred reading; Sdhp.  
reading given as variant).

49. bhāradvājo 'pi // api vā strī juhuyān mantravarjitam // iti // Sdhp.10r.  
2–3 (Bhāradvāja) < Sm.M.II.p.355 (*mantravat* for *mantravarjitam*; presu-  
mably a misprint for *amantravat*; Bhāradvāja).

According to Gautama, 'some people (*eke*) maintain that the *patnī* may offer sacrifice.'<sup>50</sup>

Tryambaka concludes his case for the agency of the *patnī* with two *ślokās* from the *Smṛtyarthaśāra*. 'With regard to oblations, the sacrificer is the most important (i.e. the first choice); (failing him) his *patnī*, son, unmarried daughter (*kanyakā*), priest (i.e. one employed by him), pupil, teacher, brother (*bhrātṛ*), sister's son or daughter's husband (may take his place). An oblation offered by any of these (people, i.e. on his behalf) is (held to have been) made by him alone. The *patnī* and the unmarried daughter should perform the sacrifice without the act of sprinkling (water round the hearth).'<sup>51</sup>

This is the most extensive of all the lists of substitute officiants. It includes the unmarried daughter, extends the notion of brother to include half-brother, and adds two more: sister's son and daughter's husband. We may assume that the wife and daughter are advised to omit the act of sprinkling water round the hearth on the grounds that it involves the recitation of Vedic mantras. In that case, however, it is not clear why the prohibition on reciting mantras is not made explicit and extended to cover the entire ritual (as in the Bhāradvāja ruling).

But perhaps the most important statement is that the sacrifice is always deemed to have been offered by the householder regardless of who actually officiates. The term *yajamāna* ('sacrificer') exclusively denotes the male head of the household, on whom all ritual responsibility rests whether he is physically present or not. Even when the wife is permitted to officiate, she never earns the title of 'sacrificer', not even temporarily. When her husband is present, she is his assistant; when he is absent, she may — according to some authorities — be his representative. But she may never perform a sacrifice herself.

**50.** *gautamah // patnī juhuyād ity eke // iti // Sdhp.10r.3 (Gaut.) < Sm.M. II.p.355 (Gaut.).*

**51.** *smṛtyarthaśare tu viṣeṣāḥ // Sdhp.10r.3. home mukhyo yajamānah patnī ca putrāś ca kanyakā / rtvik śiṣyo gurur bhrātā bhāgineyah suīapatih // etair [e]va hutam yat tu tad dhutam svayam eva tu / paryukṣanām vinā patnī juhuyāt kanyakāpi ca // iti // Sdhp.10r.3-6 (Sm.A.; the scribe omits *patnī* and inserts it in the next line with an additional unmetrical *ca*) < Sm.M.II. p.355 (kanyakāpi vā for kanyakāpi ca); Sm.A.p.34 (vastu for yat tu; paryukṣanāvarjyam for paryukṣanām vinā; an unmetrical kumāri for kanyakāpi). Cf. Par.M.I.i.p.311 (Dakṣa).*

Tryambaka's own views are clear. The male head of the household should always perform the *śrauta* sacrifice himself. If possible, he should perform the *aupāsana* ritual himself too; if not, there is scriptural justification for the practice of using permitted substitutes, including the *patnī*. Tryambaka's reluctance to allow this even in the case of the *smārta* ritual may be explained by the belief that a sacrifice performed by a substitute officiant produces a substandard result. According to Dakṣa, for example, the reward obtained by an oblation offered oneself (*svayamhomaphalam*) cannot be obtained by proxy (Sm.C.II.p.422). For when a ritual is performed by someone else, the 'unseen result' (*phalam adr̥ṣṭam*) is halved (*phalam ardham*, Sm.C.II.p.422–3; cf. Sm.M.II.p.354–5; Par.M.I.i.p.311). But if the absence of the true sacrificer is unavoidable, a substitute or representative may be assigned as detailed above. As Devannabhaṭṭa explains, these qualifications only apply when the sacrificer cannot perform the ritual himself (*svayamhomālābhavisayam*), because that alone is praised (*tasyaiva praśastatvāt*; Sm.C.II.p.423).

These rulings concerning substitute officiants must presumably be taken in conjunction with Tryambaka's earlier statement that a 'priest and so on' (*r̥tvigādinā*) should not perform the sacrifice in the absence of both husband and wife (see p. 132, note 29). Since only the husband may journey away from home, the implication is that, whoever is appointed to officiate in his absence, the *patnī* must still be there.

### *The offering of respect to the sun (arghyadānam)*

The wife's final dawn duty, as described by Tryambaka, is that of offering worship to the rising sun. He explains. 'As soon as the oblation (*homa*) has been offered, the wife (*striyā*) should perform the (ritual of) presenting an offering of respect (*arghyadānam*) to the sun.'<sup>52</sup>

The first point to note here is that, since Tryambaka seems to be concerned primarily with wives who assist at the *śrauta* ritual of *agnihotra* and only secondarily with those whose husbands perform the *aupāsanahoma*, the *samdhya* ritual may be performed in the home rather than in a solitary or sacred place outside the village (see above pp. 105–6). It thus makes sense that the rulings on *arghyadānam*

52. *homānantaram striyā sūryāyārghyadānam kartavyam // Sdhp.10r.6.*

are simply added on to those concerning the fire ritual, without any reference to the proper setting for their performance.

Secondly, why does Tryambaka fail to give any rulings concerning the other actions normally associated with the *samdhyā* ritual: that is, the recitation of mantras (*japa*), sipping (*ācamana*), ritual breathing (*prāṇāyāma*), sprinkling with water (*mārjana*), the ritual for driving out sin (*aghamarṣaṇa*), the worship of the appropriate deity (*upasthāna*) and so on (e.g. PVK.II.i.p.315–19; Vidyāṁava 1979: 32ff.?) Perhaps the answer is to be found in the earliest references to *samdhyā*. It seems that the oldest forms of the ritual involve only or principally two actions: offering water to the sun (*arghya*) and the recitation (*japa*) of the *gāyatrī* or *sāvitrī* mantra (PVK II.i.p.314). According to Tait.Ār.II.2, for example, *brahmavādins* face east and throw upwards water that has been consecrated by the *gāyatrī* (*samdhyāyām gāyatriyābhimantritā apa ūrdhvam vikṣipanti*; p.121). Both the *Āśvalāyana-* and the *Sāṅkhāyanagrhyasūtra* mention only the *japa* recitation (*sāvitrīm japet*, Āsv.gr.III.7.4; Sāṅkh.gr.II.9.2). Mān.gr.I.2.2 mentions only the offering of water to the sun (*añjalīm pūrayitvā*) and the *gāyatrī*. Not until the *Baudhāyanadharmaśūtra* do we find any reference to the other elements associated with the ritual: bathing, sipping, sprinkling water (*mantravat prokṣanam*), *japa* recitation (*sāvitrīm āvartayet*), ritual breathing with mantras, and devotion to Varuna or Mitra (Baudh.II.4.7.1–11). Tryambaka is thus an exponent both of the more complex *śrauta* ritual of *agnihotra* and the more rudimentary form of *samdhyā*. There are two possible reasons for this. The more rudimentary ritual in accordance with earlier rather than later texts may be a mark of his extreme orthodoxy. Alternatively, and to my mind more probably, he gives us a truncated form of the ritual precisely because it is intended for women. As described, the ritual is in fact more like the various kinds of devotional worship performed by women all over India today.

Tryambaka's omission of the *japa* recitation is predictable. For only twice-born males may recite Vedic mantras. As Baudhāyana explains in relation to another aspect of the *samdhyā* ritual, bathing is open to all *varṇas* but sprinkling water over oneself while reciting mantras (*mantravat prokṣanam*) is restricted to the twice-born (Baudh.II.4.7.3); that is, according to the later understanding of the term, to the initiated male. In fact, in section IV of Tryambaka's treatise, *japa* meditation is included among the six things that cause

a woman to 'fall' and which must therefore be avoided at all costs. (see pp. 274–6). Yet, according to Vidyārṇava, this is the 'absolutely necessary' part of Hindu prayer: 'everyone, who calls himself a Hindu' should recite it (1979:33). Unfortunately, Vidyārṇava gives little thought to the part played by women in his scheme of Hindu devotional prayer. As his detailed account demonstrates, each part of the *samdhya* ritual must be accompanied by a number of mantras. If women are unable to pronounce these mantras, then as Tryambaka implies, much of the ritual is barred to them.

Tryambaka's first point is to stress the importance of the ritual in terms of the future fortunes of the wife. According to Vyāsa, 'the woman who presents an offering of respect to the sun in the early morning will not experience widowhood in her next seven lives.'<sup>53</sup> The description of how she should perform the ritual (*tat prakāram*) is also attributed to Vyāsa. 'The gods are pleased with the woman who constantly makes a circle (*maṇḍalakam*; i.e. of powder) outside (the house) and offers silent worship with unbroken rice and so on'.<sup>54</sup>

The 'circle (of powder)' recalls the *rāngavalya* patterns described in the section on threshold worship (pp. 63–4). 'Silent worship' (*tūṣṇīm . . . pūjayed*) indicates that the wife should perform the ritual without the recitation of (Vedic) mantras. 'Unbroken rice and so on' implies an offering of such things as unbroken rice, sacred grass, flowers, sandalwood paste and, presumably, water.

There is an explicit if confusing analogy here between the ritual of showing respect to the sun and that of showing respect to an important human guest such as an officiating priest, a learned teacher, a bridegroom or a king (*śadarghyār̥hā[h]*, Mān.gr.I.9.1; Āśv.gr.I.24.1–4; Yājñ.I.111; cf. Gonda 1980:385–6). Indeed, as Kauś.Br.II.8.4 explains, he who offers sacrifice at sunrise is in fact offering hospitality (*ātithyam karoti*) to a great god starting on a journey. The ritual of respectfully offering water (*arghya*) is one of the principal components of the proper welcome of the guest in the *madhuparka*

53. *tathā ca vyāsah // prātahkāle tu yā nārī dadyād arghyam vivasvate / saptajanmasu vaidhavyam sā nārī naiva paśyati //* Sdhp.10r.6–7 (Vyāsa) < Sm.M.I.p.158 (*saptajanmani* for *saptajanmasu*; Vyāsa).

54. *tat prakāram āha sa eva //* Sdhp.10r.7. *kṛtvā maṇḍalakam bāhye tūṣṇīm evāksatādhibhiḥ / pūjayed satatam yā tu tasyās tusyanti devatāḥ //* Sdhp.10r.7–9 (I have followed the PT reading of *yā tu* for *yāvas*(?); Vyāsa) < Sm.M.I.p.158 (*yāvat* for *yā tu*; Vyāsa).

ceremony described at some length in the *grhyasūtras*. The term *madhuparka* denotes an offering of honey or clarified butter and curds (Āsv.gr.I.24.5–6; Āp.gr.V.13.10; Hir.gr.I.12.11–12; PVK II.i.p.542ff.). The other items offered to the special guest include a seat of grass, a cow, and water intended for three distinct purposes: for washing the feet, as an offering of respect, and for sipping (*pādyārtham arghyārtham ācamanārtham codakam*; Nār. on Āsv. gr.I.24.7). When the guest has washed his feet, he receives the *arghya* water in cupped hands (*arghyam añjalinā pratigrhya*; Āsv.gr.I.24.11). Nārāyaṇa's comment provides the traditional definition of the term: water mixed with such things as perfume (e.g. sandalwood paste) and flowers (*gandhamālyādisamyuktam udakam*).

If we turn to *arghyadāna* as a subsidiary component of the *samdhyā* ritual, we find that the offering of respect to the sun also consists of water. Par.M.I.i.p.295, for example, explains that after the ritual of sprinkling (*mārjana*) one should offer *arghya* to the sun. According to Vyāsa, this consists of taking in one's two hands (*karābhyaṁ*) water that has been consecrated by mantras (*toyam . . . gāyatryā cābhimantritam*) and throwing it up three times in the direction of the sun (Par.M.I.i.p.296; Sm.C.II.p.362). The discussion continues with a number of similar quotations also enjoining an offering to the sun consecrated by mantras (e.g. *sāvitryābhimantritam udakam*, Hārita; Par.M.I.i.p.296; Sm.C.II. p.362). In view of the references to the *gāyatrī* mantra, it is hardly surprising that Tryambaka does not produce any of these quotations to describe the *arghyadāna* ritual as performed by women.

What is surprising, however, is that the offering of water has been replaced by a powder design and an offering of 'unbroken rice and so on'. In fact, the ritual hinted at by Tryambaka seems closer to the contemporary worship of images (*devapūjā*) than to the traditional ritual of *samdhyā*. The offering of *arghya* water is certainly mentioned in one of the earliest descriptions of the *devapūjā* (Viś.Sm.65.3). In later accounts, however, *arghyadāna* consists of offering water mixed with all kinds of things such as rice, curds, *kuṣa* grass, milk, *dūrvā* grass, honey, grains of barley and so on (e.g. Matsy. P.267.2) The *samdhyā* ritual described in the *Agnipurāṇa* differentiates between the *arghya* offering made to the sun and that made to Śiva: the former consists of water accompanied by mantras (Ag.P.73.15); the latter is mixed with *kuṣa* grass, flowers and un-

broken rice (*kuśapuspākṣatānvitam*) accompanied by the *gāyatrī* (Ag.P.72.38). Since the *Agnipurāṇa* also stipulates that women may not recite Vedic mantras (153.12), the latter ritual, if not both, would seem to be barred to women. In the 'special *arghya*' ritual described by Vidyārṇava in his section on *pūjā*, the water is mixed with unbroken rice, sandalwood paste and flowers (1979:149–50).

Tryambaka's next quotation, attributed to Mādhava's commentary on the *Parāśarasmṛti*, is predictably not taken from the latter's section on *arghyadāna* (Par.M.I.i.p.295–6). For, as noted above, *arghya* is there defined as water consecrated with Vedic mantras. The quotation comes instead from the end of Mādhava's section on *tarpaṇa* (the ritual of offering water to gods, sages and ancestors; Par.M.I.i.p.364). As Mādhava explains, after performing the various kinds of *tarpaṇa*, one should sip water and then make an offering of water in cupped hands to the sun (*dadyāt sūryāya salilāñjalim*, Par.M.I.i.p.364; Vis.P.III.11.39a). Then follows the invocation to the sun selected by Tryambaka for the wife to declaim as she makes her *arghya* offering. It is taken from Aurva's discourse to Sagara on the 'fixed observances' (*sadācāru*) of the householder in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* and reads as follows. 'Hail to the sun god, Brahman, radiant one, who has the fiery energy of Viṣṇu, purifier of the world, the pure, the enlivener, who prods (us) to ritual action.'<sup>55</sup> Śridharasvāmin glosses *jagatsavitre* as 'generating all' (*viśvajana-kāya*), *karmadāyine* as 'precipitating ritual action' (*karmapratīvarttakāya*). Unlike Tryambaka, neither Mādhava nor Śridharasvāmin (nor indeed Aurva) links this invocation with women. In fact, there are only two references to the special obligations of women in Aurva's entire discourse: according to the first, the wife should perform the *vaiśvadeva* ritual; according to the second, the householder should approach his wife for sexual intercourse in the evening as long as she is not sick, pregnant or menstruating.

The invocation to the sun evidently constitutes an exception to or modification of the rule already given that women should perform the *arghya* ritual without reciting mantras (*tūṣṇīm eva*; see note 54).

55. *tatra mantro mādhaviye // Sdhp.10r.9. namo vivasvate brahmaṇ bhāsvate viṣṇutejase / jagatpavitre śucaye sayitre karmadāyine // iti // Sdhp.10r.9–10 (Mādhaviya) < Par.M.I.i.p.364 (jagatsavitre for jagatpavitre); Vis.P.III.11.39b-c (as Par.M.); Vidyārṇava 1979:66,89 (as Par.M.).*

Presumably, this is because the strict prohibition applies only to Vedic mantras, whereas this one comes from a *purāṇa*. It is certainly not to be found in Bloomfield's concordance of Vedic mantras (1964(2)). Yet this mantra is included by Vidyārṇava in the *samdhyā* rituals of orthodox males of two of the main Vedic schools (*sākhā*). Of the eighteen subdivisions of the Vedic *samdhyā* ritual outlined by Vidyārṇava, six are devoted to the sun: an offering of water to greet the sun (*sūryārgha*); the worship of the sun (*sūryopasthāna*); a farewell offering of water (*sūryārghya*); obeisance to the sun (*sūryanamaskāra*); a third offering of water (*sūryārghya*); and a final salutation (*sūryaprāṇāma*). Each of these, accompanied by mantras, is repeated three times a day. According to Vidyārṇava, the mantra specified by Tryambaka for women is recited by brahmins of the Rgvedic school during the third offering of water to the sun (1979:66). In the slightly different order of the Sāmavedic school, the same mantra is recited during the *arghya* offering to the sun at the end of the worship of Rudra (1979:89). It is curious that Vidyārṇava makes so much of the difficulties of pronouncing the Vedic language and thus of the need to bar the uneducated masses from performing these rituals (e.g. 1979:113) if some of the mantras cited are in fact *purāṇic*. Yet this particular mantra figures neither in the tantric version of the ritual developed precisely for the excluded majority nor in the 'universal' ritual intended for 'all mankind, irrespective of colour, caste, creed, race, sex, or nationality' (Vidyārṇava 1979:113–19, 119–28).

Tryambaka's final quotation in this section is attributed to the *Agnipurāṇa*. 'The chaste wife (*satī*) pays homage to the radiant one to ensure the long life and good health of her husband; she who desires the bliss of married life (*saumāngalyam*) should bow down before brahmins.'<sup>56</sup> Thus, while a man might be encouraged to worship the sun in order to ensure the dawning of a new day, or to gain 'unseen' merit, his wife's reward is seen in terms of the survival and vigour of her husband. While he might be more impressed by talk of heaven or the rewards of the next life, she is coaxed into correct behaviour by the promise of *saumāngalya*, the 'bliss of married life'. This contrast in the parallel rulings for husband and wife is typical.

**56.** *agneyapurāṇe 'pi // prāṇamed bhāskaram patyur āyurarogyasiddhaye / saumāngalyam prārthayantī namaskuryā[d] dvijān satī// iti// Sdhp.10r.10-10v.1 (Ag.P.)<*

This quotation brings to a close Tryambaka's comments on the dawn duties of the wife. I have dealt with this section in some detail for two reasons. First, it presents the wife's religious role in the narrower sense of her ritual obligations. Secondly, it demonstrates most clearly the odd mixture so typical of medieval texts: the significance of the wife in symbolic terms coupled with her unimportance in ritual actions.

## IIC Day

### (Sdhp. 10v.1–19v.4)

*Saluting one's elders* (*gurūṇām abhvādanam*; Sdhp.10v.1 – 11r. 10).

The wife's first duty after she has made her dawn offering to the sun (*tadanantaram*) is 'to salute those to whom she owes respect (*gurūṇām*), using her ordinary name (*abhivādanam*).'<sup>1</sup> Three points may be noted here. First, the formal salutation described is always made by an inferior to his or her superior. In the case of the wife, then, the action reinforces the family hierarchy each day. Secondly, the recipient's equally formal response is to bestow a blessing. This constitutes a validation in religious terms of the wife's homage. Thirdly, this is another case of a ruling usually made for men being applied to women (cf. Yājñ.I.26).

The word *guru* in such contexts is usually a general term denoting anyone to whom an individual should show respect. For a man, the most important (*atiguru*) are father, mother and religious teacher (*ācārya*). These three are said to be equal to the three Vedas, the three great gods, the three worlds, and the three *śrauta* fires (Vis. Sm.31.1–2.7; cf. Āp.I.4.14.6; Mbh.III.204.17–26). After these, respect is accorded to a man's senior relatives (e.g. uncles, grandfathers, fathers-in-law, eldest brother, and their wives, Vis.Sm.32.1–2; and older female relatives, Sm.C.I.89–90); to those of his teacher (Vis.Sm.32.5,14–15; Manu II.207); and to his 'elders' in general (*vṛddha*, Manu II.120) and presumably their wives too.

Thus men are treated with the respect due to their own age and status; women according to that due to their husbands (*pativayasaḥ striyah*, Āp.I.4.14.21 and Har.; Vas.XIII.42). Although Vis.Sm.32.2 specifies here the wife of the same *varṇa* (see above; cf. Manu II.210), for most authorities the identification of wife with husband supersedes any theoretical difference of *varṇa*. For, as Manu explains, even a woman of low birth merges with the man she marries as a river merges with the ocean (*samudrenaiva nimnagā*), thus developing the same qualities and becoming worthy of the same

1. *tadanantaram vyavahāropayuktanāmnā gurūṇām abhvādanam kartavyam* // Sdhp.10v.1–2.

honour (*jagāmābhyaṛhanīyatām*; Manu IX.22–4; cf. sections I, pp.34–9, and IIC, pp.221–7).

Although the point is never stressed in *dharmaśāstra*, the word *guru* denotes a completely different set of relationships for women. ‘Father’ is replaced by ‘husband’s father’, ‘mother’ by ‘husband’s mother’, and ‘teacher’ by ‘husband’. The difference demonstrates both the complete identification of the wife with her husband and her spiritual tutelage by him on her ordained religious path. The subsidiary groups of people to whom respect should be shown are correspondingly different: the husband’s senior relatives rather than her own, and those of her husband’s teacher. In this section, however, Tryambaka is concerned primarily with the first triad, consisting of parents-in-law and husband.

The term *abhvādāna* must be distinguished from several other kinds of greetings and salutations: *namaskāra*, *pratyutthāna*, *upasamgrahaṇa* and *pratyabhivāda*.

*Namaskāra* denotes the action of bowing with one’s hands together in a gesture of respect (*añjali*). According to the *Smṛtyarthasāra*, this is normally done towards images of deities (*devatāpratimā*), or illustrious individuals such as ascetics (*yati*) or renouncers (e.g. *tridandin*; Sm.A.p.8). *Namaskāra* may also be ‘five-’ or ‘eight-limbed’ (*pañcāṅga* or *astāṅga*) depending on the degree of prostration (Vir.P.p.88; Sm.M.II.p.389; cf. also *suryanamaskāra*, prostration to the sun). According to the *Smṛticandrikā*, one should only perform *namaskāra* in public assemblies, in sacrifices, or in palaces and royal courts (Sm.C.I.p.102: Viṣṇu). Tryambaka, however, uses the term to describe the proper mode of respect owed by the wife to her husband in the home (see below, pp.162–3).

*Pratyutthāna* denotes the action of rising respectfully from one’s seat in order to receive someone. Certain individuals who do not merit the degree of respect implied by *abhvādāna* or *upasamgrahaṇa* may be accorded this simpler gesture. For example, Baudhāyana rules that if an officiating priest (*rtvik*), father-in-law or uncle is younger than oneself, then one need only rise from one’s seat and address him (*pratyutthāyābhāṣanam*, Baudh.I.2.3.45; *pratyutthānamātreṇa pūjā*, Har. on Gaut.VI.9). Gautama includes any aged person in this category, even a *śūdra* (Gaut.VI.10). *Pratyutthāna* also precedes both *upasamgrahaṇa* and *abhvādāna*.

*Upasamgrahaṇa* is the salutation implying the greatest respect.

For example, it is the appropriate greeting for one's own teacher when one goes to him for instruction (Āp.I.2.5.18) and, according to some authorities, for one's parents and senior relatives (e.g. Gaut.I.6.1–3). The *Smṛtyarthasāra* (p. 7) defines *upasamgrahaṇa* as announcing one's *gotra* and name (*amukagotro devadattasarmā*) and making a formal salutation (*aham bho abhivādaye*) while touching one's ears (*karnau sprṣṭvā*), bending one's head (*śirovanamanam*) and clasping the person's feet, the right hand holding the right foot, the left hand the left foot (cf. Viṣ.Sm.28.15–16).

*Abhivādana* consists of the same formal salutation and bending the head in respect, but omits the clasping of the person's feet with one's hands (*abhivādane pādasamgrahaṇam nāsti*; Sm.A.p.7). But it may include touching the person's feet (*pādasparśanam kāryam na vā*; Sm.A.p.7). In this way, for example, the student should greet his teacher early each morning (Āp.I.2.5.12). *Abhivādana* is also the usual form of salutation offered by an inferior to his superior. To ensure the correct degree of inclination, Āp.I.2.5.16 rules that the brahmin should make his salute while holding his right arm level with his ear (*śrotrasamam*); the *kṣatriya* with his chest (*urahsamam*); the *vaiśya* with his waist (*madhyasamam*; glossed by Har. as *udarasamam* or alternatively *ūrusamam*, that is, level with his stomach or thighs); and the *sūdra* by holding his arm out low (*nīcaih*; glossed by Har. as *pādasamam*, level with his feet; cf. Sm.C.I.p.96). There is no ruling for women but perhaps we may assume that they would again be grouped with the *sūdra*. Manu II.120 explains the need to perform this ritual greeting. When an elder (*sthavira*) approaches a younger person (*yūna*), the latter's vital breaths (*prāṇā[h]*) rise upwards (*utkrāmanti*), desiring to leave the body (*dehād bahir nirgantum icchanti*; Medh.); but by rising from one's seat and making a formal salutation (*pratyutthānābhivādābhyām*) one can reclaim them once more. If we relate the ruling to women, however, we should substitute 'inferior' for 'younger' and 'superior' for 'older' for, as noted above, the age of the woman herself is immaterial.

This formal greeting may be performed as a daily (*nitya*) ritual (e.g. Āp.I.2.5.12–13), or as an occasional (*naimittika*) ritual (e.g. when returning from a journey, Āp.I.2.5.14), or in order to attain certain results (*kāmya*) such as heaven and long life (Āp.I.2.5.15; Manu II.121). Tryambaka's primary concern here is with the obligatory daily ritual to be performed by the wife after the dawn

observances and before the practical tasks of the morning.

When a brahmin greets his elder or superior, the traditional salutation is in three parts: the formal 'I salute' (*abhivādaye*); the declaration of one's name; and the respectful vocative *bhōḥ* (Manu II. 122–4; Vis.Sm.28.17; Gaut.I.6.5). However, if the recipient is an ignorant man, that is, one who does not understand the salutation (Manu II.123), then it is abbreviated. In that case, the speaker should omit both the respectful *bhōḥ* and his name, saying only 'It is I' (*aham iti brūyāt*; Manu II.123). We have already noted that women are to be accorded the status and respect due to their husbands. In this context, however, Manu groups all women together with ignorant men (Manu II.123). Āpastamba even rules that a brahmin greeting either a *ksatriya*, *vaiśya* or a woman should use the pronoun instead of his own name (*sarvanāmnā . . . na nāmnā*; Āp. I.4.14.23). The *Smṛticandrikā* lists the purificatory rituals appropriate for a brahmin who gives a ritual greeting to a *ksatriya*, *vaiśya* or *śūdra* (Sm.C.I.p.101–2); a woman is presumably an unworthy recipient too.

A similar distinction occurs in the rulings concerning the equally formal reply to such a salutation (*pratyabhivāda*). The rules governing this reply may be found in Pāṇini's section on vowels lengthened to three 'moras' (*pluta*). When the salutation made by a non-*śūdra* is returned, the final vowel in the name given at the end of that reply is *pluta* (*pratyabhivāde śūdre*, Pāṇ.VIII.2.83; cf. Manu II.125–6; Har. on Gaut.I.6.5). It follows by Pāṇinian convention that if a *śūdra* makes the salutation, the name given in the formal reply is not lengthened in this way. Patañjali interprets the reference to the *śūdra* to include women and those who behave in a disrespectful way (*asūdrastryasūyakeśv iti vaktavyam*) and applies it optionally to *ksatriyas* and *vaiśyas* (Pat. on Pāṇ.VIII.2.83, p.416). Thus the reply to a formal salutation from Gārgī is: *āyuṣmatī bhava gārgī* (without the *pluta* lengthening).

Patañjali provides an interesting footnote. One of his arguments for the importance of the study of *vyākaraṇa* includes a *śloka* to the following effect: if one does not know the proper response to a salutation (the rules of *pluta*), then one is in danger of being saluted with the form used for women (cf. Manu II.123 above); to avoid this, one should learn one's grammar (*abhivāde strīvan mā bhūmety adhyeyam vyākaraṇam*; Pat. on Pāṇ.I.1.1., p. 3). The same *śloka* is quoted by, among others, Medhātithi (on Manu II.123) and

Haradatta (on Gaut.I.6.5), thus demonstrating that this point was taken seriously in *dharmaśāstra* too. Manu II.126 adds that a brahmin who does not know the rules of *pratyabhivāda* is to be treated as a *sūdra* and not saluted at all.

From the earliest times, an individual was given three or even four names. Sāyaṇa's classification (on R.V.VIII.80.9), for example, consists of a name derived from the *nakṣatra* on which one was born (*nakṣatranāma*), a secret name (*guhyam nāma*), a name known and used publicly (*prakāśam nāma*), and a fourth name derived from the performance of a sacrifice (*turiyam nāma yajñiyam*, R.V.VIII.80.9; *somayājīti*, Sāy.). The appellation *yajvan* of 'Tryambakayajvan' belongs to this fourth category.

The two names that concern us here are the ordinary name, usually termed *vyāvahārika* (or *vyavahāropayuktanāma*, as here), and the secret name (*guhyam*; e.g. Gobh.gr.II.7.15–16; Hir.gr.II.4.13), termed *abhibādanīya* (e.g. Āsv.gr.I.15.10). The former is self-explanatory: it is the name by which a person is generally known. According to the elaborate rules set out in Āsv.gr.I.15.4–9, the ordinary name for a boy should have two or four syllables, and should begin with a sonant and end with a *visarga*; while that for a girl should have an uneven number of syllables (three according to Mān.gr.I.18.1; see Manu II.33 for further rules regarding girls' names). This is the name bestowed on a child in the naming ceremony (*nāmakarana*) that takes place on the tenth or twelfth day after birth (Āp.gr.VI.15.8–11; Baudh.gr.II.1.23ff.; Manu II.30). The issue is seriously confused, however, by the fact that similar elaborate rules set out in Śāṅkh.gr.I.24.4–5 apply to the (secret) name given at birth. Verse 6 explains that the ordinary name is given later, on the tenth day.

But both texts agree that the secret name (*abhibādanīya*; Āsv.gr.I.15.10) is known only to the child's parents until the initiation ceremony. It is the name with which the initiated child or person makes his formal salutations (*yena nāmnopanīto 'bhivādayate*; Nār.on Āsv.gr.I.15.10). But even this is disputed by some authorities. The *Gobhilagṛhyasūtra*, for example, distinguishes between the secret name given at birth (Gobh.gr.II.7.15–16); the ordinary name, derived according to elaborate directions and given at the name-giving ceremony (Gobh.gr.II.8.8,14–16); and the *abhibādanīya* name received at the initiation ceremony (Gobh.gr.II.10.21–5).

There is even the suggestion that the last of these is received from the teacher himself.

For our purposes, however, we need only distinguish between the ordinary name used every day (*vyāvahārikanāma*) and the one used by the initiated person for formal salutations to this teacher and more learned elders (*abhivādanīyanāma*). Haradatta's comment on Gaut.I.6.5 explains when each should be used. The *sūtra* itself rules that 'on meeting those who know' (*jñasamavāye*), the salutation should be made 'using one's own name' (*svanāma procyā*). Haradatta's comment falls into two parts. When meeting someone who knows how to make the proper response (*yah pratyabhivādanābhijñas tena samgame*), one should use one's ordinary public name (*vyāvahārikam prasiddham nāma*). But with regard to those who actually understand the meaning of the salutation (*arthajñānām*), when meeting such excellent acquaintances (*jñātavarasamavāye*), one should use one's secret name (*svanāma guhyam*).

The implication of Tryambaka's ruling is now clear. For one of the major assumptions on which Tryambaka's treatise is based is that women are not entitled to initiation (see section I, pp.34–9). If this is so, then there can be no secret or *abhivādanīya* name for women. Thus any formal salutation made by a woman necessarily entails her ordinary or *vyavahāropayukta* name. Tryambaka returns to this topic in his comments on offering obeisance to one's husband (see below, pp. 162–3).

In the context of names, we may also note that a number of individuals are traditionally not to be addressed by name, as a mark of respect. These include one's husband and one's wife as well as one's father, mother, uncle, father-in-law and mother's sister, one's teacher-(*ācārya*), his wife and son, one's *guru* or benefactor (*hitaiśin*), an initiated person (*dīksita*) and a learned one (*vidvāms*; Har. on Gaut.I.2.29). In his section on general behaviour, Tryambaka stresses the point that the good wife never utters her husband's name (Sdhp.23r.3–4; section IV, pp.273–4). Even today in Maharashtra, the traditional wife will say 'My husband is out', without mentioning his name. A generation ago, that too would have been contrary to strict tradition: she would have said, 'The coat is not here' or 'I see no turban', thereby implying her husband's absence (LSJ).

Tryambaka begins with the homage (*pādavandanam*) a woman owes her parents-in-law. According to a half-*sloka* from Yājñavalkya

(attributed by Tryambaka to Vijñāneśvara), ‘the woman who is devoted to her husband (*bhartr̥tatparā*) should pay homage to the feet of her parents-in-law.’<sup>2</sup> It is not clear (either from Tryambaka or from Yājñavalkya) whether this involves clasping both feet as in *upasamgrahana* or merely touching the feet (*pādaspasśana*; see above, pp. 157–60). According to Gautama, *upasamgrahana* is appropriate (Gaut.I.6.1–3). In traditional areas of India today, however, when the gesture is performed by a man, the joined hands touch the recipient’s feet or the ground once. But when performed by a woman, they touch the ground alone and then are shaken briefly up and down. Judging by the customs still in force today, therefore, *upasamgrahana* is not appropriate for women. Either way, the ruling presupposes the custom of living in a joint family.

Vijñāneśvara glosses *bhartr̥tatparā* as ‘a virtuous wife, obedient to the will of her husband’ (*bhartr̥vaśavartinī satī*). ‘Parents-in-law’ (*svāśurayoh*) is extended to include other people worthy of this honour (*mānyāntaropalakṣanārtham*; cf. Pāṇ.I.2.71). For example, when Rāma determines to go into exile without Sītā, he reminds her of the proper way to start her day: rise at dawn, worship the gods, pay homage to his father (*vanditavyo daśarathah pitā mama*), his mother Kausalyā, and all his step-mothers, offering her services to each in turn (Rām.II.26.30–2).

For the obeisance of the wife to her husband, Tryambaka uses the term *namaskāra*. As noted above, this term — usually reserved for the worship of images or for paying homage to august individuals — covers respectful gestures ranging from the bowing of the head with hands together to the full prostration of the body. It is clear that Tryambaka considers full obeisance appropriate here. In his section on women’s property, for example, Kausalyā is described paying homage to her husband, saying ‘I bow my head to you (*prasādaye tvāṁ śirasā*); I am prostrate on the ground before you (*bhūmau nipatitāsmi te*).’ For Tryambaka, this is the mark of the true *pativrata* (*kausalyāyāḥ pativrataḥdharmaṇuṣṭhānāvagamāt*; Sdhp.26[2]v.2–4, from the section on *strīhanam*, pp. 277–80).

In this section, however, ‘further details regarding the obeisance due to the husband (*bhartr̥namaskāre*) are provided by Gautama.’

2. *tathā ca vijñāneśvarah // kuryāc chvāśurayoh pādavandanam bhartr̥tatparā // iti //* Sdhp.10v. 2–3 (Vijñāneśvara) < Yājñ.I.83b.

The quotation concerns the name the wife should use in the salutation, and reads as follows. ‘Some authorities maintain that there is no rule regarding salutations between a man and a woman (*strīpum-yoge*; glossed by Haradatta as *jāyāpatisamavāye*, “when wife and husband meet”).’<sup>3</sup> Since a superior never salutes an inferior, what is at issue here is how a wife should salute her husband and not vice versa (*jāyayā bhartur abhivādane*; Mask. on Gaut.VI.6). According to Tryambaka’s explanation, ‘this means that there is no rule to the effect that when such a salutation is being made (by the wife to the husband), an *abhivādanīya* name must be used; she should use instead whatever ordinary name (*vyavahāropayukta*) is current at that time.’<sup>4</sup> The implications of this statement are discussed above. Haradatta and Maskarin say much the same thing, adding only one proviso. If the husband knows the rules of formal responses (*yadyapi bhartā pratyabhvādanajñah*; Har., Mask.) then there is no need for any modifying rule (*aham ayam ity evamādi niyamo nāsti*; Mask.); she may use any form of address (*yena kenacit prakāreṇa kartavyam*; Mask.).

As noted briefly above, the morning salutation is closely associated with, and usually followed by, a variety of personal services. According to Tryambaka, ‘the wife should perform such services (*śuśrūṣānam*) herself, whether for parents-in-law or husband, even if other attendants (servants) are available.’<sup>5</sup> In support of this statement, Tryambaka quotes from several different episodes in the *Mahābhārata*. To avoid repetition, I have taken these quotations out of sequence: the first group applies to the parents-in-law, the second to the husband (see notes 6–12).

The behaviour appropriate to one’s in-laws is described in a *śloka* taken from Draupadi’s advice to Satyabhāmā on the proper conduct of the wife as given in the *Vanaparvan* (*draupadisatyabhāmāsamvādaparvan*, Mbh.III.222–4; cf. section IV, pp. 280–1).

3. *bhartṛnamaskāre viṣeṣa ukto gautamena // strīpumyoge 'bhivādato niyamam eke //* Sdhp.10v.3 (Gaut.) < Gaut.I.6.6 (*abhivādane*, Mysore edn.).

4. *asyārthah // abhivādane kriyamāne abhivādanīyanāmnā abhivādanam kartavyam iti niyamo nāsti kūmṭu taikālopasthitavyavahāropayukta[m] yat kim cīn [nāma tena] nāmnā abhivādanam kartavyam // iti //* Sdhp.10v.3–6.

5. *satsv api paricārakāntaresu śvāśrūṣva śurayor bhāntūś ca śuśrūṣānam svayam eva kuryāt //* Sdhp.10v.6.

She describes her own behaviour towards her senior mother-in-law. 'With regard to liquid refreshment, clothes and food, I always attend upon the noble Kuntī, mother of heroes, speaker of truth, myself.'<sup>6</sup>

Another *śloka* to the same effect is taken from Draupadī's long complaint to Bhīma in the *Virāṭaparvan* concerning the miseries of her life disguised as a maid-servant at the court of Virāṭa (Mbh.IV. 16.5–IV.20.35). Showing Bhīma her calloused hands, Draupadī exclaims: 'I who have never ground sandalwood paste myself even to apply it to my own body — only to Kuntī's — see, if you please, how I am grinding it today!'<sup>7</sup> The implication is clear: sandalwood for her own use would be ground by a servant; that for Kuntī she would, as a mark of special respect, always grind herself.

A third quotation on this subject is taken from the last part of Umā's discourse to Maheśvara on the duties of women in the *Anuśānaparvan* (*umāmaheśvarasamyādah*; Mbh.XIII.126–134; cf. pp. 161–2). 'That which is to be done for one's parents-in-law (should be performed) with the same respect as is due to one's husband. That woman, endowed with virtues, who pays homage to (*toṣayantī*; lit. 'gratifying' or 'appeasing') the feet of her parents-in-law and is always devoted to her mother and father, is rich in religious austerity.'<sup>8</sup>

The behaviour appropriate to one's husband is described in a second *śloka* from Draupadī's advice to Satyabhāmā in the *Vana-parvan* (cf. note 6). 'And when the maid-servant has been sent away, rise up (yourself): one should do everything oneself. Let Kṛṣṇa know your feelings (*bhāva*), Satyā, let him think "She (loves and)

6. *tathā ca vanaparvani satyabhāmām̄ prati draupadīvacanam // nityam āryām ahām kuntīm vīrasūm̄ satyavādinūm / svayam̄ paricarām̄ enām̄ pānāc-chādanabhojanaiḥ //* Sdhp.10v.7–8 (Mbh.) < Mbh.III.222.38 (ekā snānāc for *enām̄ pānā[c]*). See also Sdhp.29v.8–9, section IV.4.b.

7. *virāṭaparvani bhīmasenām̄ prati draupadīvacanam // yā na jātu svayam̄ pīṁṣye gātrodvartanam̄ ātmānch / anyatra kuntyā bhadrām̄ te sā pīnaśmy adya candanam // iti //* Sdhp.10v.10–11r.1 (Mbh.) < Mbh.IV.19.22ab (sādya *pīṁṣāmi* for *sā pīnaśmy adya*; latter given as variant).

8. *sthālāntare// śvaśrūśvaśurayoś caitat kāryam bhartṛvadādarāt//* Sdhp. 11r.8–9 < ? (Not in Mbh. crit. edn. index). *śvaśrūśvaśurayoḥ pādau toṣayantī guṇānvitā / mātāpiṭṛparā nityam yā nārī sā tapodhanā // iti //* Sdhp.11r.9–10 < Mbh.XIII.134.47; Subh.p.366, *satīvarṇanam* 13 (*pativrata* for *guṇānvitā* and *tapodhanā*). See also Sdhp.32v.4–5, section IV.4.d.

serves (*bhajat[i]*) me with all her being.''" For the range of meanings associated with the verb *bhaj*, see Tryambaka's introductory verses (pp. 29–30).

Further evidence to the same effect comes from Bhīṣma's discourse to Yudhiṣṭhira on the division of inheritance in the *Anuśāsanaparvan* (*rikthavibhāga*; Mbh.XIII.47). 'If the wife is there, no one else should ever attend to (make the preparations for) her husband's bath, toilette, teeth-cleaning, collyrium, oblations to the gods, offerings to the ancestors, or anything else relating to his religious duty (*dharmauyuktam*) in the home.'<sup>10</sup> In the context of Tryambaka's treatise, the phrase 'no one else' excludes servants and the 'other attendants' (*paricāraka*) referred to earlier. In the context of the *Mahābhārata*, it is intended to exclude all junior wives. Tryambaka takes this point next.

Like Bhīṣma in his discourse to Yudhiṣṭhira (and with similar incongruence), Tryambaka takes the brahmin and not the *kṣatriya* as his case in point. 'Although—in all ages except the *kali* age—marrying (women of) other *varṇas* is (permitted) for a brahmin man, (those tasks listed above) should be performed only by his brahmin wife.'<sup>11</sup> Continuing to quote from Bhīṣma's lecture to Yudhiṣṭhira, but out of sequence, Tryambaka explains. '(Even if) he marries a brahmin woman after he has (already) taken three wives (of other *varṇas*), she should be his senior wife (*jyesthā*), the one worthy of honour, the superior one. This brahmin wife alone should perform (those services) for that brahmin man, O Yudhiṣṭhira. Food, liquid refreshment, garlands, clothes and ornaments should be given to the husband by his brahmin wife, for she is the superior one. And if he does otherwise due to infatuation (*kāmāt*, i.e. for another wife; *mohāt*, Manu IX.87), O Yudhiṣṭhira, then, as

9. *sampresitāyām atha caiva dāsyām utthāya sarvam svayam eva kāryam / jānātu kṛṣṇas tava bhāvam etam sarvātmanā mām bhajatīti satye //* Sdhp.10v. 8–10 (Mbh.) < Mbh.III.223.7 (*kuryāḥ* for *kāryam*). See also Sdhp.31r. 9–10, from section IV, pp.280–1.

10. *ānuśāsanike 'pi // snānam prasādhanam bhartur dantadhāvanam anjanam / havyam kavyam ca yac cānyad dharmayuktam gr̥he bhavet // na tasyām jātu tiṣṭhanityām anyā tat kartum arhati // iti //* Sdhp.11r.1–3 (Mbh.) < Mbh. XIII.47.32–33a (*bhaved gr̥he* for *gr̥he bhavet*).

11. *kalivyatirkṛtayugādau varṇāntāravivāhe saty api brahmaṇasya brahmaṇyaiva kartavyam //* Sdhp. 11r.3–4.

was foreseen by the ancients, he will become a *candāla* among brahmins.'<sup>12</sup>

Several points may be made here. First, the classification of daily duties such as bathing, teeth-cleaning and so on as 'relating to religious duty' (*dharma-yuktam*) means that the wife's services in these matters are classed as services in the religious sphere. A similar verse in Manu (IX.86) groups the wife's personal services to her husband (*bhartuh śarīraśuśrūṣām*) and her religious obligations towards him (*dharma-kāryam*) together as complementary parts of her religious path. The rules in operation here are thus much the same as those described earlier for selecting a *dharma-patnī* for religious rituals proper (section IIB, pp. 121–8).

Secondly, it is curious that Tryambaka quotes in full a *śloka* that in fact prohibits the marrying of women from other *varṇas* in the *kali* age. For there is no doubt, either historically or within the context of this treatise, that polygamy of this kind figured prominently in Tryambaka's world. Perhaps we should assume that the general rule concerning the pre-eminence of the senior wife of the same caste applies to all three *varṇas* (cf. Manu IX.86), whereas the sub-rule prohibiting marriages with wives of other *varṇas* applies only to the more elevated brahmin (such as Tryambaka himself). Certainly, polygamy is the mark of the prosperous and military *kṣatriya* class (cf. section IIB, pp. 121–8).

Finally, the epithet *brāhmaṇacāndāla* in a similar verse in Manu is defined by Rāghavānanda as 'one who is regarded as a *candāla* because of his despicable behaviour' (*kutsitācāratvāc candālavad upekṣyāḥ*; Rāgh. on Manu IX.87). The different spellings of *candāla* (*cāndāla*) are correct.

These rulings regarding the proper behaviour of the wife (and in particular, the senior wife or *jyeṣṭhā*) towards her husband are

12. *tad api tatraiva // tisrah kṛtvā puro bhāryāḥ paścād vindeta brāhmaṇīm / sā jyeṣṭhā sā ca pūjyā syāt sā ca bhāryā garīyasi // Sdhp.11r.4–6 (Mbh.) < XIII.47.31 (tābhya for *bhāryā*). brāhmaṇī tv eva kuryād vai brāhmaṇasya yudhiṣṭhira // annam pānam ca mālyam ca vastrāny ābharaṇāni ca / brāhmaṇyaitāni deyāni bhartuh sā hi garīyasi // Sdhp.11r.6–7 (Mbh.) < Mbh.XIII.47.33b–34 (tat kuryād for *kuryād* vai; vāsāṁsy for *vastrāny*). atha ced anyathā kuryād yadi kāmād yudhiṣṭhira / yathā brāhmaṇacāndālaḥ pūrvadr̥stas tathaiva saḥ // Sdhp.11r.7–8 (Mbh.) < Mbh.XIII.47.36. Cf. Manu IX.87.*

strongly reminiscent of those describing the proper behaviour of the student towards his teacher. According to Baudhāyana, for example, the duties of the student include attending to his teacher's morning toilet (*prasādhana*), rubbing his body with oil (*ucchādana*; alternatively *utsādana*, 'shampooing'), helping him bathe (*snāpanam*), eating the remains of his meal (*ucchīṣṭa*; cf. pp. 221–7), and so on (Baudh. I.2.3.35). By the process of identification mentioned above, he should perform the same services for his teacher's wife (Baudh. I.2.3.37), although Manu's condemnation of this practice (II.211) seems more in keeping with orthodox views on the natural promiscuity of women (see section III). In his eagerness to be of service, the student should run after his teacher if he runs (*dhāvantaṁ anudhāvet*), walk with him when he walks (*gacchantam anugacchet*), stand beside him when he stands (*tish̄tantam anutish̄het*; Baudh.I.2.3.38; Āp.I.2.6.7–9; Vas.VII.12; Manu II.196). Manu II.202 adds that the student should not employ anyone else to honour his teacher while he himself stands apart (*dūrasth[ah]*; *parahastapreśitapraṇāma*, Sarv.; *anyam niyujya mālyavastrādinā gurum nārcayet*, Kull.). In the same way, while she may delegate her more mundane household tasks (see section IIA, pp. 64–5), the ideal wife should not delegate any service to her husband to another, whether servant or co-wife.

Perhaps the supreme reinforcement of this parallel, combined with the adulation of in-laws, is to be found in the story of the mongoose (*nakulopākhyāna*; Mbh.XIV.91–6, esp.93.50–1), surprisingly not cited by Tryambaka. The story relates how a poor brahmin lived with his wife, son and daughter-in-law in abject poverty during a famine. When the god Dharma appears in the guise of a guest, the brahmin gives him his last measure of ground barley. Begging to be allowed to follow his example, the daughter-in-law delivers an impassioned speech on the homage due to the father-in-law. 'You are the *guru* of my *guru* (*guror mama gurus tvam*) since you are the god of my god (*yato daivatadaivatam*). Thus you are the supreme god of gods (*devātidevah*). Everything — my body, my life (*prāṇāḥ*), my religious duty (*dharma*) is intended solely to serve my *guru* (*śuśrūṣārtham idam guroḥ*). Through your grace (*tava prasādena*), I shall attain the desired heavenly worlds.'

The three *atigurus* of a woman's religious life are her husband and her parents-in-law. By serving them devotedly all her life, as a

perpetual student serves his teacher (cf. Manu II.243–4, 249), she will achieve the highest reward.

### *Household tasks (2) (gr̥hakṛtyam; Sdhp.11r.10–12v.5)*

According to the traditional eightfold division of the day, a man should devote the second part to Vedic study, and the third to the maintenance of his family (Dakṣa II.33–5; Yājñ.I.99–100; Vidyā-rṇava 1979:I; see pp.45–9). According to Tryambaka, however, women are excluded from Vedic study; and any work they do should be within the home. The good wife should therefore devote the equivalent period of the day (i.e. from dawn to shortly before midday) to household tasks. As Tryambaka explains, ‘after that (i.e. after making the appropriate salutations to husband and in-laws), she should attend to (lit. “consider”) her household duties.’<sup>13</sup>

Tryambaka opens this section with a *śloka* (attributed to Vyāsa) describing the general qualities appropriate to the ideal wife. ‘She should be one who brings good luck, one for whom it is natural to perform auspicious acts, one who loves making (the home) beautiful and contributing (in other ways) to the household.’<sup>14</sup> The first of these is a practical requirement. For a woman’s power to bring good luck may be manifested in two ways: she is the mother of healthy sons, and her husband is alive and prosperous.

Tryambaka proceeds to describe in more detail one very important contribution (*upukāra*) the wife may be required to make. ‘When commissioned to do so by her husband, she should perform such tasks as managing the (household) income.’<sup>15</sup> Tryambaka’s evidence is drawn from Manu. ‘He (the husband) should put her in charge of saving and spending money, keeping things (clean and) pure (*śause*), religious matters (*dharme*), the preparation of food, and looking after the household utensils.’<sup>16</sup>

13. *tato gr̥hakṛtyam vicārayet* // Sdhp.11r.10.

14. *tathā ca vyāsaḥ* // *bhāvyam marīgalakāriṇyā kṛtamāṅgalasīlayā / gr̥hopakārasaṁskāraratayā prativāsaram* // *iti* // Sdhp.11r.10–11v.1 (Vyāsa) <? (I have followed PT in correcting ‘*paskara*’ to ‘*pakāra*’.)

15. *bhartr̥niyuktayārthaśamgrahaṇādikam kartavyam* // Sdhp.11v.2.

16. *tathā ca manuḥ* // *arthasya samgrahē cainām vyaye cainām niyojayet / śause dharme ‘nnapaktyām ca pāriṇāhyasya cekṣane* // Sdhp.11v.2–3 (Manu) < Manu IX.11 (caīwa for cainām; N.S., vekṣane for cekṣane).

The comment that follows is Tryambaka's. "Saving money" means "keeping it safe". "Spending" means "in ways not prohibited by the rulings of *dharmaśāstra*". "Keeping things pure" covers "objects, the body and so forth". "Religious matters" means "such things as offering hospitality to guests". "The preparation of food" means "cooking it". "(Looking after) the household utensils" means "seeing to such household paraphernalia as beds, seats, water-pots and frying-pans". (This is how) he should employ his wife.<sup>17</sup>

Several points may be noted here. First, the reference to 'religious matters' (*dharma*) is predictably interpreted to emphasize the more obviously domestic aspects of the wife's religious role: feeding her husband's guests rather than participating in the fire sacrifice or paying homage to the gods.

Secondly, while Tryambaka quotes Manu's ruling merely to support his statement that the wife should be called upon to act as household treasurer, the original context of that ruling is far less complimentary. For Manu IX.9 cautions men that if they wish to keep their offspring pure (*prajāviśuddhyartham*), they should guard their wives closely. Verse 10 adds that while no one can guard women by force (*prasahya*), they may be guarded by the following means (*etair upāyayogais tu*). These 'means' are spelled out in the verse Tryambaka has quoted: that is, women should be kept busy with household responsibilities. Verse 12 concludes that women confined under guard are not in fact guarded at all (*arakṣitāḥ*); those who in this way keep guard over themselves (*ātmānam ātmanā yās tu rakṣeyūḥ*) are (*surakṣitāḥ*). For a woman who is not kept busy might hang around the doorway looking out into the street, something Tryambaka expressly forbids (Sdhp.23r.6–7, from section IV, pp. 273–4), probably because that is believed to be one of the marks of a woman who is easily seduced (*dvāradeśāvasthāyinī*; Kām.V.1.52).

After a digression on whether or not the wife may speak to other men (pp. 170–6), Tryambaka returns to the subject of managing money. To avoid repetition, I include the relevant comment and quotation here.

17. *asyārthah // arthasya samgrahaṇe rakṣane vyaye śāstrāviruddhe śause dravyaśrīrādeḥ / dharme ātithyādike 'nnapaktyāṁ tatpāke pāriṇāhyasya grhōpakarāṇasya śayyāsan kundakatāhāder īkṣane tāṁ striyāṁ niyojayed iti //* Sdhp.11v.3–6. (I have followed PT in correcting *paskaranasya* to *pakarāṇasya*.)

Tryambaka explains. ‘With the money given (to her by her husband) to cover her household tasks, the chief wife (*patnī*) should carry out those tasks in whatever way she can and (still) keep something back. But she should not keep anything back out of greed from the money given (to her) for religious purposes (*dharmaṛtham*).’<sup>18</sup> As evidence for this, Tryambaka quotes one and a half *ślokas* attributed to Manu that say much the same thing. ‘The husband should place in his wife’s charge (lit. “hand”) the money which is to be spent on the home. She should carry out her household tasks and (yet in doing so) deliberately keep something back. But if she is given money for the purpose of religious donation (*dānārtham*), she should not keep any of that back out of greed.’<sup>19</sup>

Two points should be made here. First, both Tryambaka’s statement and the quotation that follows use the word *patnī*, indicating that the role of household treasurer is to be taken by the senior wife of the same caste as her husband. Presumably the same rules of selection discussed above (see pp. 121–8) would operate in this sphere too.

Secondly, Tryambaka’s phrase ‘for religious purposes’ (*dharmaṛtham*) is replaced in the quotation by ‘for religious donation’ (*dānārtham*). The latter more specific term excludes such possibilities as the wife buying the items required for a sacrifice or paying the priests. It also raises the much-debated question of whether or not the wife owns any money or property herself, and thus whether she may give or withhold religious donations in her own right. Tryambaka returns to this question in his section IV on women’s property (see pp. 277–80).

The rest of this section on household tasks is taken up with a lengthy discussion of whether or not the ideal wife may talk to other men (a topic also raised in Sdhp.24r.1–24v.7, see section IV, pp. 273–4); cf. Dharmāk.III.p.175ff.). Strictly speaking, the term *parapuruṣa* denotes any man other than her husband; by extension, as Tryam-

18. *grhakṛtyārtham dattena dravyena patnī yathā katham cid grhakṛtyam nirvartya kim cid avaśeṣayet* // *dharmārtham dattam tu dravyam lobhena nāvaśeṣayet* // Sdhp.12v.2–3.

19. *yathā ca manuh* // *grhavyayāya ya[d] dravyam diśet patnyāḥ kare patih* / *nirvā[r]tya grhakāryam sā kim cid buddhyāvāśeṣayet / dānārtham arpīte dravye lobhāt kim cīn na dhārayet* // Sdhp.12v.3–5 (Manu) < ? Not in available edns. of Manu.

baka eventually explains, it denotes any man who is not related to her.

Tryambaka presents the problem. 'The objection may be made (*nanu*) that a woman cannot attend to her household tasks without speaking to other men and yet, because of the prohibition "she should not speak to any other man", this is not allowed. But this objection is not valid (*iti cen na*).'<sup>20</sup> For that same prohibition (attributed here to Śāṅkha), when given in full, in fact runs as follows. 'She should not talk to any other man apart from traders, renouncers ("pravrajita"), doctors and old men.' It thus allows women to 'converse with those men who are instrumental in her affairs'.<sup>21</sup>

We may note here that while a woman may converse with a male renouncer she may have nothing to do with his female counterpart. For in section IV, there is an even fuller version of this quotation. It culminates in a list of women with whom the good wife should not associate: courtesans (*ganikā*), women who gamble (*dhūrtā*), women who meet lovers in secret (*abhisāriṇī*), female renouncers (*pravrajitā*), and so on (Sdhp.22v.1–3, see pp.273–4). The term *pravrajitā* includes both traditional female ascetics and the heretical orders of nuns. A similar passage attributed to Mārkaṇḍeya rules that the good wife should never be friendly with a female sceptic (*haituki*) or a female religious mendicant (*śramaṇā*, Sdhp.23v.5–6; see also section IV, note 26). The former term condemns women who question the traditional values preached by Hindu orthodoxy; the latter condemns those who have already rejected them. The orthodox viewpoint is clear. Men may choose to renounce family life and devote themselves to their religion; women may not. For a woman's religion is her family life. Hence the ruling in Tryambaka's section on things to be avoided: renunciation (*pravrajyā*) is one of the six things that cause women and *sūdras* to fall (see section IV, note 7). We should add here that female mendicants are also under suspicion

20. *nanu striyā <h> grhakṛtyavicāraṇam parapuruṣabhbhāsanena vinā na sambhavati / tac ca na yuktam // na parapuruṣam abhibhbhāseta* (see note 21) *iti niśiddhatvād iti cen na //* Sdhp.11v.6–7.

21. *na parapuruṣam abhibhbhāsetānyatra vāhikpravrajitavaidyavṛddhebhyaḥ // Sdhp.11v.7–8 < Mit. on Yājñ.I.87 (Śāṅkh.); Apar. on Yājñ.I.83 (Śāṅkh.); not in SS edn. of Śāṅkhasmṛti; see also Sdhp.22r.9–10, section IV (Śāṅkh.); Dharmāk.III.p.175 (Śāṅkh.). iti śāṅkhasmṛtau vyavahāropayukta[hi] puruṣaiḥ sambhbhāsanasyānumatavāt // Sdhp.11v.8–9.*

for another reason altogether: they (together with widows) are included in the list of 'go-betweens' (*dūtī*) considered suitable for conducting illicit affairs (*bhikṣukī*; Kām.V.4.62).

But what should the good wife do if neither husband nor male relative is there to speak on her behalf? Tryambaka tackles this question next. 'In times of difficulty—that is, when there is no other speaker except a man unrelated to her (i.e. no one else who might speak for her)—then she will not be at fault if she speaks to him either after placing a blade of grass between the two of them (*trṇam antarataḥ kṛtvā*) or directly (*sāksād*).'<sup>22</sup> For each of these possibilities, Tryambaka produces an epic example.

First, the custom of placing a blade of grass between the chaste wife and an unrelated man as a symbolic barrier is traced to an incident described in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Rām.V.21). Sītā has been carried off to Laṅkā by the demon Rāvaṇa who proceeds to declare his love. Tryambaka's quotation—in fact taken from the version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* embedded in his *Dharmākūṭa*—details Sītā's response. 'Addressed in this way (by Rāvaṇa), Sītā, tormented by grief, was without fear. Placing a blade of grass between them (*trṇam antarataḥ kṛtvā*), she answered Rāvaṇa.'<sup>23</sup>

The crucial phrase, *trṇam antarataḥ kṛtvā*, appears both in the *Rāmāyaṇa* episode (Rām.V.21.1–3) and in the *Mahābhārata*'s version of the story (*rāmopākhyānam*, Mbh.III.265.17; see note 23). Van Buitenen (1978:III, p.741) translates the latter as 'counting him no more than a straw in her heart'. However, there is a confusion here between the literal meaning of the phrase and the metaphorical meaning expressed by the *cvi* formation *trṇikṛ* (cf. Pān.V.4.50ff.). It seems evident, both from the Sanskrit itself and from Tryambaka's interpretation of it, that the literal meaning is intended here: Sītā actually places the grass between them, thereby establishing a

22. āpadi parapuruseñānyah ko 'pi vaktā na cet tena saha bhāṣanam trṇam antarataḥ kṛtvā sāksād vā na doṣāya // Sdhp.11v.9–10.

23. tathā ca rāmāyaṇe // sā tathoktā tu vaidehī nirbhayā śokakarśitā / trṇam antarataḥ kṛtvā rāvaṇam pratyabhāṣata // iti // Sdhp.11v.10–11 (Rām.) < Dharmāk.III.p.175. Cf. Rām. V.21.1–3 (tasya tadvacanam śrutiḥ sītā... trṇam antarataḥ kṛtvā pratyuvāca śucismitā; trṇavac ca tataḥ kṛtvā, N.E. variant, Baroda edn.); Mbh.III.265.17 (ity uktvā tena vaidehī parivṛtya śubhānanā / trṇam antarataḥ kṛtvā tam uvāca niśācaram //).

symbolic 'barrier' between herself and the *parapuruṣa* with whom she should not converse. It is quite likely, of course, that the phrase is also a kind of pun, evoking the contempt of the *cvi* formation. Certainly, in the Madras edition I have used, the chapter describing the incident is entitled *rāvaṇatṛṇīkaraṇam* (Rām.V.21, subheading). But a translation that completely omits the literal meaning misses the point.<sup>24</sup>

Tryambaka's example of a good woman speaking directly to an unrelated man (without a symbolic grass 'barrier') is taken from the 'abduction of Draupadī' episode in the *Vanaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* (*draupadīpramāt̄he*, Sdhp.11v.11; *draupadīharaṇaparvan*, Mbh.III.248–53). The five Pāṇḍavas have gone hunting, leaving Draupadī alone in the forest. King Jayadratha, who is looking for a wife (*vivāhakāmaḥ*; Mbh.III.248.6), sees Draupadī and sends his friend, King Koṭikāśya, to find out who she is. Mbh. III.250 presents Draupadī's response to Koṭikāśya's questions; Tryambaka quotes most of it.

'Questioned in this way by the chief of the Śibis, Princess Draupadī looked at him slowly (*mandam*). (Van Buitenen's "with a languid glance" does not, I think, convey the implied reluctance of a high-born woman confronted with someone to whom she should not normally speak.) Letting go the branch (she had been holding), she gathered together her silken upper garment (*samgr̄hnatī kauśikam uttariyam*; that is, she drew the garment demurely across her face and upper body; cf. van Buitenen's "kuśa grass skirt") and spoke.<sup>25</sup> "O son of Narendra, I know in my heart (*buddhyā*) that a woman like me is not permitted to converse with you. But you have spoken and there is no one else here to answer you, neither man nor woman; for I am on my own at present. I shall answer you for this reason (i.e. and this reason alone)—be sure, sir, that you understand this. (Van Buitenen's 'listen well' conveys neither her anxiety nor her reasoning.) For I am alone in the forest, ruled by my own religious law (*niyatā svadharme*; i.e. as an orthodox wife), so how may I con-

24. For a detailed discussion of this phrase and interesting parallels in both Sanskrit literature and European mythology, see Brockington 1987.

25. *vanaparvani draupadīpramāt̄he // athābravīd draupadī rājaputri pr̄stā śibinām pravareṇa tena / aveksya mandam pravimucya śākhām samgr̄hnatī kauśikam uttariyam //* Sdhp.11v.11–12r.2 < Mbh.III.250.1.

verse with you when you are also here alone?<sup>26</sup> I (already) know that you are Suratha's son, whom men call Kotikāśya. I shall therefore do the same for you, O Śaibya, and tell you about my relations and my celebrated family.<sup>27</sup> (Tryambaka in fact omits verse 5 which explains that she is Drupada's daughter and the wife of the five Pāṇḍavas.) The sons of Pr̥thā (Kuntī as chief wife)—Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīmasena and Arjuna, and the two most heroic sons of Mādrī—have left me here and gone out hunting in each of the four directions.<sup>28</sup> (Tryambaka omits the half-verse that describes which husband went where.) But I think it is almost time for these supreme charioteers to return here. When you have received (due) honour from them, you may go as you wish; (until then) unharness your horses and dismount. (Yudhiṣṭhira,) the great-souled son of Dharma loves to receive guests and so he will be pleased to see you.<sup>29</sup> Saying so much (i.e. and no more) to the son of the Śaibya king, Drupada's moon-faced daughter departed. Thinking (only) of her duty to offer hospitality to them (as her husbands' guests), she entered that excellent hut made of leaves.<sup>30</sup>

Tryambaka concludes that 'this is how women should talk to

**26.** buddhyābhijānāmi narendraputra na mādr̥śī tvām abhibhāṣṭum arhā/ na tveva vaktāsti taveha vākyam anyo naro vāpy athavāpi nārī// ekā hy aham samprati tena vācam dadāni vai bhadra nibodha cedam / aham hy aranye katham ekam ekā tvā[mā]lapeyam niyatā svadharne// Sdhp. 12r.2–4 < Mbh.III. 250.2–3 (tveha for tveva; niratā for niyatā); Dharmāk.III.p.175 (niratā for niyatā).

**27.** jānāmi ca tvām surathasya putram yam koṭikāśyeti vidur manusyāḥ/ tasmād aham śaibya tathaiva tubhyam ākhyāmi bandhūn prathitam kulam ca// Sdhp.12r.4–6 < Mbh.III.250.4 (prati tan nibodha for prathitam kulam ca).

**28.** yudhiṣthiro bhīmasenārjunau ca mādryāś ca putrau purusapravīrau / te mām niveśyeha diśas catastro vibhajya pārthā mṛgayām prayāt[ā]ḥ // Sdhp. 12r.6–7 < Mbh.III.250.6.

**29.** manye tu teṣām rathasattamānām kālo 'bhitāḥ prāptuṁ ihopayātum // saṁmān[i]tā yāsy attha tair yatheṣṭām vimucya vāhān avarohayadhvam / priyātithir dharmasuto mahātmā pṛito bhaviṣyatv abhivikṣya yuṣmān // Sdhp.12r.7–9 < Mbh.III.250.7b–8 (prāpta for prāptum; avagāhayadhvam for avarohayadhvam).

**30.** etāvad uktivā drupadātmajā sā śaibyātmajām candramukhī pratītā / viveśa tām parṇāśālām praśastām saṁcintya teṣām atithitvadharman // Sdhp.12r.9–12v.1 < Mbh.III.250.9 (parṇakuṭīm for parṇāśālām; atithisvadharman for atithityadharman).

men to whom they are not related'. He adds that 'there is no blame attached to conversing with those to whom they *are* related (*svīyaih saha*).'<sup>31</sup> We need only note here that Tryambaka's extremely orthodox advice is of no practical value to either Sītā or Draupadī. Each in turn follows the rules of *strīdharma* to the letter; both are abducted anyway. Tryambaka's satisfaction with their behaviour stems not from the success of either strategem but from the fact that, in orthodox eyes, neither Sītā nor Draupadī is to blame. For a woman that is small consolation.

This topic is evidently dear to Tryambaka's heart for it reappears at some length in his section on general behaviour (section IV, pp.273-4). The picture he paints there of the perfect wife still holds good for traditional India today. Even if another man entices her with good things (*lobhitāpi parenārthaīh*), begs her humbly (*dainyena prārthitā vāpi*), seizes her by force (*balena vidhṛtāpi vā*), or clothes her in fine garments (*vastrādyair vāsitā vāpi*), the good wife never loves another man (the term *bhajate* implying here love, homage, domestic service and sexual favours; cf. section I, introductory verse 1). If another man looks at her, she does not meet his eyes (*vīkṣitā vīkṣate nānyam*); if he smiles at her, she does not smile back (*hasitā na hasaty api*); if he speaks to her, she does not answer (*bhāsitā bhāsate nānyam*). By implication (according to the *pramāṇa* of *arthāpatti* accepted by *mīmāṃsā*), touching another man is also prohibited (*sparśo 'pi arthāt pratīṣidhyate*; Sdhp.24r.1-24v.7). This is still the description of the virtuous Hindu wife today, especially in the north, even in the comparatively modern middle class.<sup>32</sup> In the south, however, the women seem noticeably more relaxed. If this was also the case in Tryambaka's time, it would

31. *strīnām parapurushabhaṣane* [']yam prakārah // svīyaih saha sambhāṣane tu na doṣa iti // Sdhp.12v.1-2.

32. While men may be open in their dealings with others, their wives (whether accompanied by their husbands or not) will not talk to or smile at other men. As a result, brahmin men usually do not bother to address the wives of their friends or colleagues because they are almost certain to meet with no response (LSJ). The custom persists even among the new generation of college girls: a male medical student complained to me that his female colleagues would not talk to or look at him even when they were engaged in dissecting a corpse together.

explain why he felt it so necessary to stress the point for the Maratha women at the court of Thanjavur.

Tryambaka pursues the question of physical contact further in section IV. When Rāvaṇa carries Sītā off by force, and therefore touches her, being unprotected (*anīśā*) she is not to blame. But when Hanuman offers to carry her to safety, she cannot bring herself to touch the body (*gātram*) of a man who is not her husband (Sdhp. 24r.5–7). Tryambaka then argues that when a priest at a *śrauta* ritual binds the sacrificer's wife with a girdle of *kuśa* grass, his touch is that of a father (*duhitṛyat gurutvāt*) and so does not pollute (Sdhp.24r.8–10). Similarly, although Sītā rejects the touch of Hanuman as that of another man, she assents to that of Agni (when she enters the fire to prove her innocence to Rāma) because he is her father (the husband of Pr̥thivī, the earth from which Sītā emerged; Sdhp.24r.10–24v.6). However, since Ghatotkaca (Bhīma's son by the *rāksasī*, Hidimbā) carried Draupadī (Ghatotkaca's step-mother), a woman may touch her (step-)son (Sdhp.24v.6–7). This concern to avoid physical contact with those outside one's immediate family is still in evidence today.<sup>33</sup>

### *Midday rituals* (Sdhp. 12v. 5–16v. 7)

In the fourth division of the traditional eightfold day, a man should take his midday bath; make a *tarpana* offering of water to gods, sages and ancestors; perform the midday *samādhyā* ritual; and worship the gods (Dakṣa II.43; Yājñ.I.100; Vidyārṇava 1979:1; PVK II.i.p.689; see above, pp. 44–9). With reference to women, Tryambaka mentions only the last of these (*devapūjā*; see below, pp. 178–80) and states that it is to be performed by the husband (*bhartrā kriyamānadevapūjāyām*; Sdhp.12v.5–6) not the wife.

In the fifth division of an eightfold day, before his midday meal, a man should perform the 'five great sacrifices' (*pañcamahāyajñāḥ*)

33. In the exceptional cases where a man can talk freely with the wife of a colleague or neighbour, she will take care never to touch him even by mistake. If she offers him tea, she will put the cup down for him to pick up; for if she passed it to him directly, their hands might touch. In the less inhibited south, far more women travel about, going to work and so on. But this very freedom requires the special arrangement of segregated buses so that as far as possible women may avoid touching men.

comprising offerings to Brahman (*brahmajajña*; the study and teaching of the Veda; cf. Manu III. 70ff.; *japa*, Kull.), the gods (*devayajña*; *homa*, Kull.), the ancestors (*pitryajña*; *tarpana*, Kull.), men (*manusyayajña*; *atithipūjā*, Kull.) and all beings (*bhūtayajña*; *bali*, Kull.). With reference to women, Tryambaka mentions only four rituals; and these do not correspond exactly with the previously mentioned five. The *vaiśvadeva* ritual (see pp. 180–3) comprises offerings of cooked food to all gods and is said by some authorities to correspond to the *devayajña*, *pitryajña* and *bhūtayajña* (Sm.A.p.47; Par.M.I.i.p.389; Dakṣa II.56; cf. Gonda 1980:414–15).

According to others, the requirements of these three are met by the *vaiśvadeva* and *baliharana* rituals together (e.g. Gov. on Baudh. II.6.11.4). Hospitality to guests (*atithipūjā*, see pp. 183–210), corresponds to *manuṣya*:*ajña*. *Balidāna*, an offering to the goddess Jyesthā (see pp. 277–9), seems to be the wife's version of *baliharana* (*bhūtayajña*; cf. Gonda 1980:417ff.). *Brahmayajña* (consisting of Vedic study) is predictably not mentioned.

Before describing the wife's role in these midday rituals, something must be said about the obvious parallels and duplications evident in the various forms of worship. For, as Vedic sacrifice became rarer, alternative rituals developed alongside it, each carrying with it confusing echoes of the fire ritual. I have already discussed in some detail the *śrauta* fire sacrifice (*agnihotra*), its *grhya* counterpart (*aupāsanahoma*), and the twice- or thrice-daily *samīdhyā* ritual (see pp. 102–7). The parallels and overlaps there are obvious. The substitution of the breaths for the sacred fires in *prānāgnihotra* is yet another echo of Vedic sacrifice, as is the further development into the ritual offering of food (*bhojanavidhi*).

Several of the rituals are performed twice a day: the *homa* offerings and twilight worship take place at sunrise and sunset; the 'five great sacrifices', the *vaiśvadeva* ritual and *bali* offerings shortly before the midday and evening meals. If all or even some of these are observed, then there are inevitable duplications. To avoid this, Manu, for example, identifies *homa* with *devayajña* (Manu III.70, and Kull., Sarv.; Mit. on Yājñ.I.102). While admitting that others disagree, Haradatta identifies the *vaiśvadeva* ritual with both *devayajña* and the domestic *homa* ritual (Har. on Āp.I.4.13.1; cf. Bodewitz 1976:191). Vidyārṇava, in his modern account of the midday duties required of the orthodox male, writes of the 'Deva-

*yajña* or the offering to fire, called also *Homa*, or *Viśva* offering' (1979:154).

Image worship (*devapūjā*) seems at first to be subsumed in *devayajña*. For, although the term itself is of long standing (see Pāṇ.I.3.25), the earlier *dharmaśāstra* texts do not list it separately among the daily duties of the orthodox. Gaut.I.2.12.17, for example, mentions only the *homa* offering and *samdhyā* (cf. Āp.I.1.4.16–17; Baudh.I.2.3.19). Later *smṛtis*, however, distinguish clearly between the two. Manu, for example, advocates image worship (*devatābhycarcanam*; *hariharādidevapūjanam*, Kull.) alongside offerings to gods, sages and ancestors (*devarsipitṛtarpanam*) and the fire ritual (*samidādhānam*; *samiddhomam*, Kull.). According to some authorities, it should be performed after the morning *homa* (Sm.M.II. p.383, Marīci) or after the midday observation of *brahmayajña* and *tarpana* (Sm.M.II.p.383, Hārīta). According to Dakṣa II.30–1, all rituals for the gods (*devakārya*) should be performed in the first half of the day. By late medieval and modern times, however, *devapūjā* had almost totally replaced the earlier rituals from which it had evolved (cf. PVK II.ii.p. 705ff.).

#### *Image worship* (*devapūjā*; Sdhp.12v.5–8)

Despite the vast medieval literature on the subject, Tryambaka tells us very little about the procedure of worship. Of the long list of actions advocated (*upacāra*; cf. Sm.C.II.p.532ff.; PVK II.ii. pp. 729 ff.), he names only *naivedya*, and that in his section on the preparation of food for the *vaiśvadeva* ritual (pp. 180–3). For Tryambaka is concerned solely with the wife's role and it is a subsidiary one.

'When the *devapūjā* is being performed by the husband, she (presumably the *patni*), without being told (to do so), should herself make ready all the items necessary for it.'<sup>34</sup> Tryambaka's evidence for this statement is drawn from two *ślokas* attributed here to Vyāsa. The first of these (with the lines reversed and attributed to 'Skānda') has already been mentioned in section IIA (Sdhp. 4r.3–4; p. 65). Both *ślokas* reappear as part of a longer quotation (also attributed to 'Skānda') in the section on general behaviour (Sdhp.23r.7–9; p. 273). They read as follows. 'She herself, with-

34. *bhartrā kriyamānadevapūjāyām tadupayuktam upakaranādikam anuktiyā svayam eva sarvam sādhanīyam // Sdhp.12v.5–6.*



1. Woman milking white cow with calf watching  
OR. 11689, fol. 1v (detail)



2. Woman anointing herself with sandalwood paste or perfume from a pot  
OR. 11689, fol. 3r (detail)



3. Woman holding mirror and applying collyrium to her eyes  
OR. 11689, fol. 3r (detail)

4. Woman arranging ornaments  
in another's hair.  
OR. 11612, fol. 13r (half folio)



5. Woman putting tilaka mark  
on her forehead while  
another holds a mirror  
OR. 11612, fol. 13r  
(half folio)



6. Woman squatting to cook, and fanning herself with her left hand

OR. 11689, fol. 1v (detail)



7. Woman standing to serve her husband while he sits and eats  
OR. 11689, fol. 2r (detail)



8. Woman massaging her husband's feet as he relaxes on a bed after his meal  
OR. 11689, fol. 3v (detail)



9. Woman dining alone, eating what is left of her husband's meal, after tending to his needs  
OR. 11689, fol. 3v (detail)



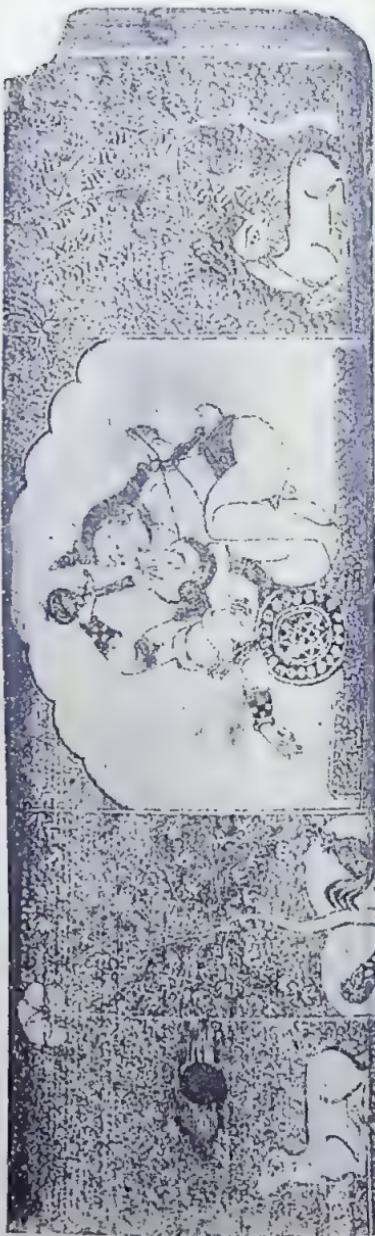
10. Woman sitting on the ground, playing with male child  
OR. 11689, fol. 2v (detail)



11. Woman sitting with child on her lap, suckling him  
OR. 11689, fol. 2v (detail)



12. Couple making love on a low bed, naked except for their ornaments, the woman on top  
OR. 11612, fol. 19r (half folio)



13. Couple making love on a low bed, both wearing ornaments, woman drinking from a bottle  
OR. 11612, fol. 19r (half folio)

out being told (to do so), should make ready all the items for worship such as the water for the observances and the sacred grass, together with leaves, flowers, unbroken rice and so on. Without anxiety and with great joy, anticipating (each) moment, she should place everything near (her husband), (each item) at the appropriate time.<sup>35</sup>

The items specified may be related to the various stages of worship (*upacāra*). For example, fresh water (cf. Viṣ.Sm.66.1) is required for several procedures: for washing the feet of the image (*pādya*), for bathing it (*snāna*), for sipping (*ācamana*), and for the *aghrya* offering. The sacred grass (*barhis*) forms a seat for the worshipper (see Viṣ.P.p.95 on *āsanam*). Various kinds of leaves are recommended for the worship of Śiva, including those of the wood-apple (*bilva*), *apāmārga* and acacia (*śamī*) trees, and the blue lotus (Viṣ.P.p.210). Basil (*tulasi*) leaves are offered to Viṣṇu, either separately or when flowers are unavailable. They may also be mixed in the water used for bathing the images (Viṣ.P.p.42–9). Flowers of various kinds are offered in a separate *upacāra* (*puspa*). The *Viṣṇusmṛti* prohibits the use of flowers that smell unpleasant or have no smell at all; white ones are allowed, if they smell nice; red ones, especially those that grow in water (*jalajam*; *raktotpalam*, Nand.) are best (Viṣ.Sm.66.5–9). For the worship of Śiva, *arka*, oleander (*karavīra*), *drona*, *kuśa*, datura (*dhattūra*) and acacia (*śamī*) flowers are recommended, but the blue lotus is best (Viṣ.P. p.210). Different flowers are listed for the worship of Viṣṇu: various kinds of jasmine (*vanamallikā*, *vāsantī*, *mālatī*, *kunda*), magnolia (*campaka*) and *asoka* flowers, and best of all the *jātī* jasmine (Viṣ. P.p.51). If the worshipper cannot afford the more expensive items required for certain *upacāras* (clothes, ornaments, unguents, etc.), he may use flowers instead. Flowers and unbroken rice are also added to the *aghrya* offering of water, along with other items such as particular grasses, milk, curd, honey and so on (section IIB, p.151).

35. *tathā ca vyāsaḥ // pūjopakaraṇam̄ sarvam̄ anuktam̄ sādhayet svayam / niyamodakabarhiṣī* (Sdhp.4r.3; *barhīṁsi*, Sdhp.23r.8; Sdhp.12v.7 unclear) *patrapuspākṣatādikam̄ // pratīkṣamānāvasaram̄ yathākālocitam̄ hi yat / tad upastāpayet sarvam̄ anudvignātihṛṣṭavat // iti //* Sdhp.12v.6–8 (Vyāsa) < Sk.P.III.2.7.22–3 (*anuktā* for *anuktam̄*; *barhīṁsi*; *yatra* for *patra*; *ca varam̄* for *vasaram̄*). See also Sdhp.4r.3–4, p.65 (*skāndavacanat*; first śloka only, lines reversed); Sdhp.23r.7–9, p.273 (Skānda).

As described by Tryambaka, this is a classic example of the wife's role of assistant to her husband in religious rituals (*dharma-patnī*). Strictly speaking, this is the case even in domestic image worship today. For while the wife or mother of an orthodox household may spend a large amount of time in the *pūjā* room—perhaps offering various *upacāras* without mantras, or following the *sūdra* example of using purāṇic mantras instead—in orthodox terms, her worship is strictly devotional. For unless a woman has been initiated, has undergone the required Vedic education, has been taught the mantras and precisely what to say and do, she may not offer the full *devapūjā* with Vedic mantras herself. Her husband or a priest must do it for her. In fact, in today's *pūjā*, the woman usually does everything except the crucial part of the ritual reserved for her husband; he does that, and then goes to the office. She may also touch her husband's arm during the ceremony in order to earn her share of his merit. For in effect, now as in Tryambaka's day, she can only assist.

(*The worship of all gods* (*vaiśvadeva*; Sdhp.12v.8–13r.6).

As explained briefly above (pp. 177–8), this offering of cooked food to all the gods before a meal is one of several modern rituals that contain echoes of early Vedic sacrifice. According to Sm.C.II.p.570, for example, it may be offered into either the ordinary or the *śrauta* fire (*laukike vaidike vā*, although *vaidike* is immediately glossed as *vaivāhike*; cf. also Medh. on Manu V.7). Several authors maintain that the *vaiśvadeva* ritual is identical with *devayajña*; others that it corresponds to *pityajña* and *bhūtayajña* as well. In the *Dharmakūta*, Tryambaka agrees with this last view, quoting Vyāsa and the *Smṛtyarthasāra* (Dharmāk.III.p.78). In the *Strīdharmapaddhati*, however, he does not add to this discussion. Once again, he is concerned only with the part the wife must play: she should prepare the food to be offered; she should be present at the ritual; and she should decorate the place of worship.

'After that (i.e. after the worship of the household images), she should do the cooking for the (offerings of food to) guests, all the gods, and so on.'<sup>36</sup> The first quotation produced deals with the preparation of food for guests; I shall return to it in the section concerning the role of the wife in the *atithipūjā* (p. 198, note 64). The

36. *tato 'tithivaiśvadevādyar�ham pākah kartavyah* // Sdhp.12v.8–9.

second quotation, attributed to Vyāsa, applies to the *vaiśvadeva* ritual. 'After taking her (ritual) bath, the senior wife (*painī*) should cook (food) in the home: (that) for the *naivedya* ritual (should be prepared) in a separate pot, and the delicacies (*vyañjanāni*) for the *vaiśvadeva* ritual separately in another.'<sup>37</sup>

The distinction here is between one of the *upacāras* of *devapūjā* (see pp. 178–80), and the independent *vaiśvadeva* ritual. Various rulings are given about *naivedya* offerings. According to Vis. Sm.66.12–14, one may not offer any food that is normally forbidden, nor the milk of goats or buffaloes, nor the meat of five-toed animals, fish or wild boar. In general, however, the rule is the same for *naivedya* as it is for the *vaiśvadeva* ritual: one should offer to one's gods whatever food one eats oneself (Rām.II.102.30; 103.15; Medh. on Manu V.7). The *Smṛtyarthasāra* specifies that *ksāra*, *lavanya* and certain kinds of pulse should not be offered in the *vaiśvadeva* ritual (cf. Sm.C.II.p.574), thus recalling similar rulings relating to the fire ritual (see pp. 142–5). Tryambaka, however, tells us only that different pots should be used to cook the food intended for each ritual.

The term *vyañjanāni*, used in the narrow sense, denotes any form of spice or seasoning. In its wider sense, as used here, it covers any good food cooked with appetising seasoning and condiments. This presumably indicates that food for the gods should be prepared with as much care as that for the family.

Two more points should be made here. First, if *naivedya* is part of image worship (*devapūjā*), then Tryambaka's sequence of events is wrong. The wife would have to prepare the *naivedya* offering before the ritual, not after it.

Secondly, unlike the sweeping and cleaning of the home, the cooking of food is not an independent household task for which the wife is solely responsible. It is a subsidiary part of the midday rituals performed by her husband. The offering of food to the gods is the principal part (*pradhāna*); both the preparation beforehand and the eating afterwards are subsidiary (*aṅga*) to it. Thus, even in the realm of food, the wife may be seen to be acting as her husband's assistant in religion and not independently.

37. *vyāso pi // naivedyārtham prthagbhānde painī snātvā pased grhe vaiśvadevārtham anyasmīn vyañjanāni prthak prthak // iti // Sdhp.13r.2–3 (Vyāsa)<?*

Continuing this theme of the wife as religious assistant, Tryambaka explains that 'the *patnī* too should be present at the time of the *vaiśvadeva* ritual.'<sup>38</sup> He quotes Nārāyaṇa. 'Bathed, ritually pure, accompanied by his wife, and without speaking, (a man) should sip (water) according to the injunction, sit down and, when the fire is lit, he should perform the *vaiśvadeva* ritual.'<sup>39</sup> The quotation demonstrates that the male householder performs the ritual; all that is required of the wife at this stage is her presence. The question of the *patnī*'s presence at rituals is discussed in more detail with regard to the *homa* offerings (see above, pp.132–41). The overlap between *homa*, *devayajña* and *vaiśvadeva* suggests that the implications here are the same.

Tryambaka's final point in this subsection concerns the wife's role in decorating the place of worship. 'At the time of the *vaiśvadeva* ritual, the *patnī* should decorate with sandalwood paste and so on the places where food offerings (*bali*) are made.'<sup>40</sup> He quotes Baudhāyana. 'Silently (*tūṣṇīm*; i.e. without the recitation of mantras), the *patnī* decorates all the places of worship (*āyatanāni*) with sandalwood paste, flowers, incense and lights.'<sup>41</sup>

Several points may be noted here. The term *tūṣṇīm* recalls Baudhāyana's orthodox views on women. For example, he admits that some people make funeral offerings when their married daughters die but argues that this is only done to placate the world (*loka-samgrahaṇārtham*), for women are held to be (without Vedic education and therefore) without mantras (*tad amantrāḥ striyo matāḥ*, Baudh.I.5.11.7; Manu IX.18).

Secondly, both the term *āyatanāni* (cf. *agnyāyatanam*) and the wife's task of decorating the hearth recall the very similar rulings described in the section on *agniśuśrūṣā* (pp. 107–15). According to Tryambaka, decorating the hearth is the wife's sole responsi-

38. *vai<va>śvadevasamaye patnyāpi sannihitayā bhavitavyam* // Sdhp.13r.3.

39. *tathā ca nārāyaṇah* // *subhāryas tu śuci[ḥ] snāto vidhinācamya vāgyataḥ* / *upaviṣya sumiddhe 'gnau vaiśvadevam samācaret* // *iti* // Sdhp.13r.3–5 (Nārāyaṇa) < Sm.C.II.p.570 (praviṣya susamiddhe for upaviṣya samiddhe; Nārāyaṇa).

40. *vaiśvadevasamaye patnī balyāyatanāni gandhādibhir alāṅkuryāt* // Sdhp. 13r.5.

41. *tathā ca bodhāyanah // tūṣṇīm sarvāṇy āyatanāni gandhapuṣpadhūpadi-paiḥ patny alankaroti // iti //* Sdhp.13r.5–6 (Baudh.) < ?

bility in the fire sacrifice; in the *vaiśvadeva* ritual, she does the cooking too.

Finally, the references to sandalwood paste, flowers, incense and lights recall both the procedures of image worship (*devapūjā*), and the fact that it is the wife's job to gather together all the items required for religious worship (see above, pp.178–80).

*Paying homage to guests* (atithipūjā; Sdhp. 13r.6–16v.7)

As mentioned above (pp.176–8), paying homage to guests by offering hospitality corresponds to *manuṣyayajña*, one of the 'five great sacrifices' of the householder's day. Since the wife is instrumental in the observation of this ritual—both preparing the food and serving it on her husband's behalf—this section is a lengthy one. Tryambaka begins with some general rules concerning the timing of the ritual and the form it should take.

'At the end of the *vaiśvadeva* ritual, if a guest has come, homage should be paid to him.'<sup>42</sup> Tryambaka quotes Āpastamba. 'The two owners (of the house, *svāmin[au]*; i.e. *pati* and *patnī*) should not refuse anyone who asks for food at the (appropriate) time (*kāle*). If there is no (food), then (one should offer him) a place to sit (*bhūmi[h]*; lit. 'ground'), water, grass (or straw, *trñāni*; i.e. to sit on) and a kind word (*kalyāñī vāg*): these things never disappear in the house of a good man. Those two (i.e. the husband and wife) who behave in this way go to the eternal world.'<sup>43</sup>

*Kāle* is glossed by Haradatta as 'after the *vaiśvadeva* ritual' (Ujj.; cf. Mit. on Yājñ.I.107). In a similar *śloka* from Manu, *bhūmi* means 'a pleasant place to sit or sleep' (*āsaṇāśayanavihārasthānam*; Medh. on Manu III.101); 'grass' means a couch or bed (*śraṣṭara*, Medh.; *śayaniya*, Kull.). According to Nandana, grass should be offered if no (proper, i.e. wooden) seat is available (*āsanābhāve*); an area of ground if there is no bed (*bhūmih śayānābhāve*). The

42. *vaiśvadevānte samāgato 'tithih* / Sdhp.13r.6–7.

43. *tathā cāpastambah* /, *kāle svāmināv annārthinaṁ na pratyācakṣiyātām* /, *abhaive bhūmir udakam trñāni kalyāñī vāg iti etāni vai sato 'gare na kṣi[y]-ante kadā caneti* /, *evaṁvṛttāv anantalok[au] bhavataḥ* /, *iti* / Sdhp.13r.7–9 (Āp.)<sup><</sup>Āp.II.2.4.13–15; Sm.C.II.p.591–2 (*kāle . . . caneti*); (*kāle . . . pratyācakṣiyātām*). Cf. Manu III.101; Yājñ.I.107; Baudh.gr.II.9.22–3; Sm.M.1. p.425; Subh.p.169, v. 444. See also note 76.

water is for such things as washing the guest's feet (*pādaprakṣā-lanādyarthajala*<sup>o</sup>; Kull.); according to Nandana, if there are no unguents with which to massage them (*pādābhyāñjanābhāve*). Manu's 'friendly speech' (*sūmṛtā*) is explained by Medhātithi as that which is both pleasant and salutary (*priyahitavacanam*). Nandana's gloss quotes Āpastamba (*kalyāñī vāg*) and adds that this is appropriate if there is no food (*annābhāve*).

To avoid repetition, I include at this point a similar general statement regarding timing and format, taken from Manu, but given by Tryambaka somewhat later in this section. 'After performing the *bali* offering in this way, one should first (*pūrvam*) feed the guest. According to the injunction (*vidhipūrvakam*), one should offer any guest who has come (to one's house) a seat (*āsano*<sup>o</sup>) and water, and food too, according to one's resources, and making it as wholesome (*satkṛtya*) as one can.'<sup>44</sup>

'First' here means before one takes one's own meal (*pūrvam ātmanah*, Sarv. on Manu III.94; *pūrvam svabhojanāt*, Rāgh.). 'According to the injunction' is glossed by Sarvajñanārāyaṇa as 'according to the religious law pertaining to guests declared by Āpastamba' (Sarv. on Manu III.99). 'Seat' (*āsana*) means not just any place to sit but the low wooden seat, a few inches off the ground (so that one may comfortably sit cross-legged), that is traditionally offered to important people or guests (cf. *pūha*, Sdhp.40v.10; *pūthanam āsanam*, Amar.II.6.3.40). *Satkṛtya* may be taken in two ways. In Manu III.96, for example, Medhātithi and Govindarāja take it to mean 'paying homage' (*pūjayitvā*, Medh.; *phalapuspādinā*, Gov.). However, Kullūka and Rāghavānanda on Manu III.99 take it with *annam* to indicate the appropriate attention given to preparing the guest's food (*vyañjanādibhiḥ suikṛtam cānnam*, Kull.; *vyañjanaiḥ saṃskṛtya*, Rāgh.; cf. Kull. on Manu III.96). Because of the associations with the food offered in the *vaiśvadeva* ritual (cf. *vyañjanāni*, note 37). I have preferred the latter interpretation.

On these general points of timing and importance, a few observations may be made. For example, Tryambaka makes no mention of the *bali* offering (*balikarman*) that according to Manu should precede the ritual of feeding the guest. I shall return to this point

44. *manur api // kṛtvaitad balikarmaivam aithim pūrvam āśayet // saṃ-prāptiāya tv atithaye pradadyād āsanodake // annam caiva yathāśakti satkṛtya vidhipūrvakam //* Sdhp.14v.1-3 (Manu) < Manu III.94a,99; Sm.C.II.p.590.

when I deal with the wife's *bali* offering to the goddess Jyesthā (*balidānam*; see below, pp. 227–9).

The role of the wife is not at this point spelled out. Apastamba uses the dual form 'the two owners' (*svāminaū*), indicating that the responsibility for the ritual is shared jointly by husband and wife. This is a faint echo of the 'two sacrificers' of Vedic times, the ideal of the married couple participating jointly in their religious obligations. If they behave as they should, both are rewarded in heaven. In contrast, Manu's rulings are couched in the masculine, without reference to the wife even in the dual form. Although it is clearly assumed that the wife must take care of the practical aspects of feeding the guest (see Manu III.103, and below, pp. 198–9), the responsibility for the ritual rests on the husband. The good wife who plays her part is thus participating in her husband's religious duty (*prativratabhāgī*) rather than her own.

Tryambaka's second point is to stress 'the necessity (*āvāsyakatvam*) of offering homage to the guest'. The same point is made, in other contexts, elsewhere in the treatise. In Tryambaka's conclusion, for example, offering hospitality to the guest is the underlying theme in several of the lengthy stories told: in the story of the pigeons and the bird-catcher, the male pigeon offers his own body as food (section V, pp. 306–7); in the story of Kausika, the ascetic's anger is caused by the lack of hospitality shown to him (section V, pp. 308–9); in the story of Sudarśana—according to whom, offering hospitality to the guest is the householder's supreme religious duty—his wife, Oghavatī, is required to offer her body to the brahmin guest, and Death is conquered thereby (section V, pp. 310–12). In this section, however, Tryambaka draws upon the story of Naciketas in the *Kaṭhopaniṣad*.<sup>45</sup> This *Upaniṣad* is generally assigned to the *Kāthaka* school of the Black Yajurveda. The same story appears in Tait.Br.III.11.8.1ff. and, in a variety of forms, in both epic and *purāṇa* literature (e.g. Mbh.XIII.70; Var.P.p.194ff., 1103ff.).

Tryambaka begins with a prose recapitulation of the story to provide the framework for the important quotations from the *Kaṭhopaniṣad*. This prose version, together with the three verses and the final prose comment enclosing them, reads as if it has all been taken from

45. *atithipūjanasyāvāsyakatvam kāthavalīyām api // Sdhp.13r.9.*

some work such as Tryambaka's own *Dharmākūta*. Alternatively, the prose passages may be original to this treatise. The recapitulation runs as follows.

'(Naciketas' father gave) as the fee (to the priests) for a sacrifice he had begun, cows that had (already) drunk their (share of) water, eaten their (share of) grass and given their (share of) milk, and which no longer had any strength (i.e. to reproduce; *aprajananasamarthāḥ*, Śaṅkara, Dh.kośa II.iii.p.1389). Because of this fault in the sacrificial fee, i.e. in his (father's) gift of cows, Naciketas believed that his father would go to a world without joy (when he died). So, in order to remove that (fault), he asked his father again and again: "To which particular priest will you give me?" In anger, his father replied: "I shall give you to Death!" Because of the authority of his (father's) words, and because he believed that obeying the command of one's father is the most important religious law, he (Naciketas) went to the house of Yama. Since Yama was away, he stayed there for three days (lit. "nights") without receiving the honour (due to a guest). Then, when Yama had completed his journey and returned, his ministers said to him . . .'.<sup>46</sup>

Tryambaka then quotes the first of the three verses from the *Kaṭhopaniṣad*. '(Like) fire (*vaiśvānarah*), the brahmin guest enters homes; they (i.e. good householders) pacify him (*sāntim kurvanti*) with this (hospitality): "Fetch water, O Vaivasvata (Yama)!"'<sup>47</sup> Śaṅkara glosses *vaiśvānarah* as 'like a burning fire' (*agnir eva . . . dahann iva*; Dh.kośa II.iii.p.1390; cf. Āp.II.3.6.3). The idea of 'pacifying' him (*sāntim kurvanti*) relates both to the proper treatment of the guest and to the image of fire. Just as one needs to

**46.** *naciketāḥ svapit[ara]m ārabdhayajñadakṣiṇātvena pītodakajagdhatrṇa dugdhadohananirindriyagopradāne krator dakṣiṇādānavaigunyaṭ pitur anandalokagamanam bhaviṣyatīti vicintya tatparihārāya kasmairtvigvišeṣāya mām dāsyasūti punaḥ punaḥ prapaccha / tam pitā krodhena tvā mr̥tyave dāsyāmīty uvāca / sa ca pitrvacanaparipālanam eva garīyān dharma iti tadvacanagauravēṇa yamabhavanam gatvā prosite yame tisro rātrīr apūjita eva uvāsa / tataḥ prosyāgataṁ yamam amātyā ūcuh // Sdhp.13r.9–13v.4 (Kaṭhāvalī, PT: *anantalokagamanam na bhaviṣyati* for *anandalokagamanam bhaviṣyati*, *mr̥tyave* for *tvā mr̥tyave*, \*pālunam for \*paripālanam).*

**47.** *vaiśvānarah praviṣaty atithi[r] brāhmaṇo gr̥hāṇ // tasyaitām sāntim kurvanti haru vaivasvatodakam //* Sdhp.13v.5 < Kaṭh.Up.I.7; Vas XI.13 (gr̥ham for gr̥hāṇ; first half only).

'quench' a fire (*dāham śamayanta iva*; Śaṅkara), so one must 'appease' the guest by offering water to wash his feet, a seat and so on (*etām pādyāsanādidānalakṣanāṁ . . . santo 'tithir*; Śaṅkara, Dh.kośa II.iii.p.1390). Hence the summons to bring water to wash Naciketas' feet. The implication is clear: a guest not honoured in this way will destroy that household like a raging fire.

The second verse quoted continues this theme. 'If a brahmin (guest) stays without eating in the house of (such) a foolish man, then hope and expectation, friendship and good fellowship, sacrifice and charitable works, sons and cattle—all these he snatches away (from the negligent host).'<sup>48</sup>

Although some *dharmaśāstra* texts enjoin that anyone who asks for food at the right time should be treated with the honour due to the guest (including *kṣatriyas*, *vaiśyas* and *sūdras*, according to Baudh.II.3.5.11), it is often assumed—as it is here—that the proper recipient of such homage is the brahmin. According to Manu III. 110, for example, neither a *kṣatriya*, a *vaiśya* nor a *sūdra* should be welcomed in this way in a brahmin house. Gautama is equally specific: only a brahmin may be a 'guest' to a brahmin (*brāhmaṇasyā-nathithir abrāhmaṇah*; Gaut.I.5.39). Visitors of lower *varṇa* should be given food (Baudh.II.3.5.14 suggests that the *sūdra* should work for his) and treated kindly, but they do not merit the homage due to the brahmin guest (e.g. Manu III.111–12). It is thus because Naciketas is a brahmin that Yama is so anxious to make amends. Equally, it is because Rāvaṇa is disguised as a brahmin that Sītā is right to do him honour. The story of Draupadī and King Jayadratha, on the other hand, demonstrates that *kṣatriyas* are entitled to such homage when they come to a *ksatriya* household (see above, pp.170–6, and below, pp.199–203).

The third verse presents Yama's reply. He begins by admitting that Naciketas is indeed the kind of visitor who is entitled to be called a 'guest', and honoured accordingly. 'O brahmin, since you—a guest worthy of honour (*namasyah*; *namaskārārhah*, Śaṅkara, Dh.kośa II.iii.p.1391)—have stayed in my house for three days (lit. "nights") without eating, choose in return therefore three wishes.

48. *āśāpratīkṣe samgatam sunṛtam ceṣṭapūrte putrapaśūṁsi ca sarvān / etad vṛñ[k]te puruṣasyālpamedhaso yasyānaśnan vasati brāhmaṇo grhe //*  
Sdhp.13v.6–7 < Kath.Up.I.8.

I bow to you, O brahmin. May all go well with me!'<sup>49</sup> Śaṅkara explains that each (day and) night that Naciketas has been neglected merits a wish in return (*rātrīm̄ prati trīm̄ varān*; Śaṅkara, Dh.kośa II.iii.p.1391). Tryambaka's closing comment agrees. 'Appeasing (Naciketas) in this way, he (Yama) presented him with three wishes to remove the sin of having had him stay in his house without eating for three days.'<sup>50</sup>

This leads Tryambaka to his third point: the severe punishment in store for those who neglect the laws of hospitality. He begins with a quotation attributed to the Vedic school of *Pārakṣudra* (*pārakṣudraśākhāyām*). The text of this name, cited in the *Āpastambaśrautasūtra* (MW:620), seems to be no longer extant. It was probably part of the tradition of the Āpastamba school of the Black Yajurveda, to which Tryambaka himself almost certainly belonged (see p.25). The *sūtras* themselves, however, are found elsewhere: in the *Taittirīyabrahmaṇa* and the *Taittirīyopaniṣad*. The quotation runs as follows. 'He who gives me, that man surely encloses (*āvāḥ*) me. I, who am food, eat the eater of food. Even before the fire, food burns.'<sup>51</sup>

In the context of the *Upaniṣad*, this is the ecstatic chant of the enlightened man for whom the dualities of the phenomenal world are all at once transcended (cf. Śaṅkara on Tait.Up.III.10; Dh.kośa II.ii.pp.740–2). In the context of the *Brāhmaṇa* (according to Sāyaṇa), and very probably in that of the *Pārakṣudra* too, the lord of food (*annasvāmin*; Sāy.) himself is talking, the god of the eternal law, that is, of sacrifice (*ṛtasya yajñasya*; Sāy.). According to Sāyaṇa's interpretation, if a man who has faith (*yah śraddhāluh pumān*) gives away to brahmins and so on (*brāhmaṇādibhyah prayacchat*) me in the form of food (*mām annarūpam*), then he (sa dātā) encloses (*āvāḥ āvṛṇoti*) me the god of food (*mām anna-*

49. *tato mṛtyuḥ / tisro rātrīr yad avātsīr grhe me 'naśnan brahmann atithir namasyaḥ / namaste 'stu brahman svasti me 'stu tasmāt prati trīm̄ varān vṛṇī-śva //* Sdhp.13v.7–8 < Kath.Up.1.9.

50. *evam̄ prasādyā dinatrayam anaśanena svagṛhanivāsadoṣaparihārāya varatrayam̄ prādād iti //* Sdhp.13v.9.

51. *pārakṣudraśākhāyām̄ api // yo mā dadāti sa id eva māvāḥ / aham annam̄ annam̄ adantam̄ admi / pūrvam̄ agner api dahaty annam̄ // iti //* Sdhp.13v.9–14r. 1 (*pārakṣudrasākhā*) < Tait.Br.II.8.8.1; Dh.kośa II.i.p.477–8; Tait.Up. III.10 (first two lines only); Dh.kośa II.ii.p.470.

*devam), thus making me his own (*svikaroti*). But if a man, without giving me away (*mām adattvā*), himself eats (*svayam eva atti*)—then I, the god of food, eat him (*tam . . . annadevo 'ham admi*); that is, I cause him to be utterly destroyed (*tam vināśayāmi*; Sāy. on Tait.Br., Dh.kośa II.i.p.477–8). Śaṅkara, commenting on the *Upaniṣad*, glosses *āvāḥ* as ‘he protects’ (*avati*). According to Sāyana, the fire of the stomach (*udarāgnih*) ‘burns’ or digests (*dahati pācayati*) the food that is eaten for only a day. But the man who eats without giving (*adātā tu bhoktā*) burns then and there (*tadānīm eva dāhyate*) from the food he is eating (*bhuujyamānenānnena*). ‘Before the fire’ means ‘before the cremation fire’, that is, in this world. For the sin of not feeding others, which is enough to send a man to hell, arises at that very moment (*narakahetoh pratyavāyasya tadaivotpannatvāt*). The image of the cremation fire serves both as an analogy for the sinner’s internal burning in this life and as a reminder of the hell-fires to come.*

This theme of the punishment threatened by the god of food is continued in Tryambaka’s next quotation, taken this time from *dharmaśāstra*. Baudh.II.3.5.17 rules that one should never eat without first giving away some food. Verse 18 quotes two *ślokas* voiced by the god of food (*annagītāu ślokau*). These two *ślokas*, attributed to Baudhāyana, are now presented by Tryambaka.

‘Whoever eats me—that is, food that has been prepared—with-  
out giving any to his ancestors, gods, servants, guests and friends,  
out of delusion, he eats poison: I shall eat him; and I shall be his  
death. But whoever (first) offers the *agnihotra* sacrifice, performs  
the *vaiśvadeva* ritual, pays homage to his guests, and (only) then—  
contented, pure and having faith—eats me, i.e. what is left after  
feeding the servants, then for him I become nectar and he enjoys  
me.<sup>52</sup>

The earlier threat of internal fires has been replaced by that of death by poison. Both reinforce the rules of hospitality to the guest with powerful magical implications. If the householder behaves as

52. *bodhāyano 'pi , yo mām adatvā pitṛdevatābhyo bṛtyātithinām ca suhrjanasya / samparinam aśnan viśam atti mohāt tam admy ahām tasya ca mrityur asmi // hūtagñihotrah kṛtavaiśvadevah pūjyātithin bṛtyajanāvāśiṣṭam // tuṣṭah śuciḥ śraddadhad atti yo mām tasyāmr̥tam syām sa ca mām bhunakti / iti // Sdhp.14r.1–4 (atithin amended to atithin; vasiṣṭam to vasiṣṭam; Baudh.) < Baudh.II.3.5.18; Sm.C.II.p.409 (bṛtyatithibhyaś for bṛtyātithinām; suhrjanāya for suhrjanasya; api for admy).*

he ought, the food is transformed into nectar and digests easily. If he does not, it changes within his body and—as either fire or poison—destroys him. For, as Baudhāyana quotes elsewhere, food is life (*annam prāṇam iti*; cf. Tait.Br.II.8.8.3) and therefore must be given; it is the highest offering (*paramam havih*) one can make (Baudh.II.3.6.41).

Before considering the next quotation given by Tryambaka (Sdhp.14r.4–14v.1; see below, note 63), I shall take out of sequence a number of quotations relating to the threats of punishment in store for those who neglect the laws of hospitality. The first two *ślokas* belong to the same passage attributed to Manu (Sdhp. 14v.1–6) from which an earlier out-of-sequence quotation was taken (Sdhp.14v.1–3; note 44). The remaining quotations on this topic are drawn from a passage attributed to the *Aśvamedhikaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* (Sdhp. 14v.6–15r.1).

According to the Manu quotations, the danger stems not from the magical properties of food, nor from the vengeful nature of the god of food, but from the supernatural powers of the guest himself. Thus, ‘if a guest leaves one’s house with his hopes (for food) dashed, he bequeathes his sins (to his host) and takes away his (host’s) merit.’<sup>53</sup> Or again, ‘if a brahmin stays without being (duly) honoured, he deprives (his host) of all his good deeds, even if he (i.e. his host, is the kind of brahmin who) gathers (food) by gleaning and who always offers oblations in five fires.’<sup>54</sup>

The assumption here, as earlier, is that the guest in question is a brahmin. Although ‘guests’ or visitors of other *varnas* may be given

53. (*manur api // Sdhp.14v.1.*) *atithir yasya bhagnāśo gr̄hāt pratinivartate / sa datvā duṣkṛtam tasya punyam ādāya gacchatī // Sdhp.14v.4–5* (Manu) < Sm.C.II.p.593 (Märk.P.); Sm.M.II.p.416 (Vyāsa); Par.M.I.i.p.215 (*sa tasya duṣkṛtam datvā*; Märk.P.); Märk.P.29.31 (*tasmai* for *tasya*); Mbh.XII.184.12 (as. Märk.P.); Mbh.XIV appendix I, no.4, line 965 (first line only); Vis.P. III.9.15 (*sa tasmai duṣkṛtam datvā* for *sa datvā duṣkṛtam tasya*). Cf. Par.M.I. i.p.403; Par.S.I.45a; Vis.Sm.67.33a.

54. *śilenāpy ucchato nityam pañcāgnin apy juhvataḥ / sarvam sukr̄tam ādatte brāhmaṇo 'narcito vasan ji iti // Sdhp.14v.5–6* (*śilenāpy* amended to *śilenapy*; Manu) < Manu III.100 (*śilān apy* for *śilenāpy*); Par.M.I.i.p.402 (*śilato* *py* for *śilenāpy*); Sāṅkh.gr.II.17.1 (*tr̄ṇāny apy ucchatato* for *śilenāpy ucchato*; *agnihotram ca* for *pañcāgnin apy*).

food and so on, it seems that the curse of the brahmin guest is what is really feared. It is this fear that constrains Sītā when she is confronted by Rāvaṇa disguised as a brahmin renoucer. Since he is a guest and a brahmin (*brāhmaṇaś cātithiś cāyam*), Sītā reasons, he has the power to curse her if ignored (*anukto hi śapeta mām*; Rām. III.47.2). So she offers him homage and hospitality as she ought. Tryambaka returns to this episode below (pp.200–1).

But the power of the guest is not merely that of the brahmin. For even the most superior brahmin will lose all his accumulated merit to a slighted guest. Manu IV.4–5 defines the five means of subsistence open to brahmins in an ideal world. The highest, termed ‘truth’ (*ṛtam*), is gleaning corn (*uñchaśilam*); the next, termed ‘nectar’ (*amṛtam*), is receiving what is given unasked (*ayācitam*); the third, termed ‘death’ (*mṛtam*), is obtaining food by begging (*yācitam*); the fourth, termed ‘death-causing’ (*pramṛtam*; cf. Manu X.83), is agriculture (*karṣanam*); and the fifth and lowest, termed ‘truth mixed with untruth’ (*satyānṛtam*), is trade (*vāñjijyam*). In Manu’s utopian world, even the first three methods of subsistence may be pursued by brahmins in the householder stage, men who have spent a quarter of their lives at the feet of a teacher (cf. Manu IV.1) and who have then deliberately sought out a way of life that will cause as little pain as possible to other beings (*adrohenāiva bhūtā-nām alpadrohenā vā*; Manu IV.2). At the top of the hierarchy is the man who stores no food at all but gathers each day what he needs from ‘permitted places’ (*avāritasthāneśu*; Baudh.III.2.14).

But the householder brahmin described here (by both Manu and Tryambaka) is not only one of these. He also offers his morning oblations in five fires: that is, in the *aupāsana* or *grhya* fire used for domestic rituals; in the three *śrauta* fires; and in the *sabhya* fire kept for general warmth (Mit. on Yājñ.I.221; Har. on Gaut.II.6.29; Medh. on Manu III.185). Such exemplary brahmins are included among those whose presence at a meal is held to bless the household (*pañktipāvana*; cf. Gaut.II.6.29; Āp.II.7.17.22; Manu III.185; Yājñ.I.221). Manu’s point (and Tryambaka’s) is that even so austere a brahmin householder, who has accumulated vast reserves of merit and ascetic power, loses all that merit if he fails to welcome a brahmin guest as he should.

Tryambaka pursues this theme still further in several *ślokas* attributed to the *Aśvamedhikaparvan*. They describe two kinds of

eminent householders who, by virtue of their highly meritorious practices, might be considered immune to the dangers of not welcoming a guest. In each case, neglect of the guest renders all their previous activities useless.

'If a twice-born recites the *vedas*, the *vedāngas* and the *upāṅgas* each day, but does not pay homage to the guest, he recites in vain. Those who perform the (domestic) sacrifices with cooked food offerings (*pākayajña*), the (five) great sacrifices, and the (seven) basic forms ('*samsthā*') of the *soma* sacrifice, and (yet) do not honour the guest who has come to their home, then, though they desire fame and wealth, all that they have given away or offered in the sacrifice is rendered vain, killed by (their guest's) killed hope.'<sup>55</sup> For 'he who does not pay homage at the end of the *vaiśvadeva* ritual to any guest who has come, at once becomes an outcaste (*candāla*)'; there is no doubt about that.'<sup>56</sup>

*Pākayajña* is defined in the *grhyasūtras* as a domestic sacrifice with cooked offerings (*grhyasthālīpāka* ; Pār.gr.I.1.1.). The term is used to distinguish domestic rituals from both *śrauta* and *soma* sacrifices (e.g. Śāṅkh.gr.I.1.15; Manu II.143; Gaut.I.8.19–21). According to some authorities, they are of three kinds (e.g. Nār. on Āśv.gr.I.1.2); according to others, four (e.g. Śāṅkh.gr.I.5.1; Pār.gr.I.4.1; Manu II.8.6; Vas.26.10; cf. Gonda 1980:186); according to others again, in line with *śrauta* and *soma* rituals, seven (e.g. Gaut.I.8.19–21). The term used for these seven 'basic forms' of the *pākayajña*, *haviryajña* and *soma* rituals is *saṃsthāḥ* (see above).

55. *āśvamedhiko* 'pi // *sāṅgopāṅgāṁs tathā vedān paṭhatīha* *dine* *dine* /*na cātithim pūjayati vṛthā sa pathati dvijah* // *pākayajñair mahāyajñaiḥ soma-saṃsthābhīr eva ca / ye yajanti na cārcanti* *grheṣv atithim āgatam* // *teśām yaśorthakāmānām dattam iṣṭam ca yad bhavet / vṛthā bhavati tat sarvam āśayā hatayā hatam* // Sdhp.14v.6–15r.1 (*paṭhamtīha* amended to *paṭhatīha*; *cārcābhīḥ* to *cārcanti*; Mbh.) < Par.M.I.i.p.402 ('*bhikāmānām* for '*rthakāmānām*'; Mbh., *āśvamedhika*); Mbh.XIV appendix I, no.4, lines 986–91 (*tu yo* for *tathā*; *bhavati* *sa* for *sa paṭhati*; *pākayajñā* for *pākayajñair*; '*bhikāmānām* for '*rthakāmānām*'; *hi tayā* for *hatayā*).

56. *vaiśvadevāntike prāptam atithir yo na pūjayed / sa cāndālatvam āpnoti* *sadya eva na samśayah* // Sdhp.14v.9 < Par.M.I.i.p.403 (Mbh., *āśvamedhika*); Sm.M.II.p.416 (Viṣṇu); Mbh.XIV appendix I, no.4, lines 971–2 (*cāndālatvam* for *cāndālatvam*). ..

The threat in the last *śloka* that the householder neglectful of his guest will 'at once' (*sadya eva*) become a *candāla* refers to a 'visible' (*drṣṭa*) not an otherwordly (*adrṣṭa*) result (see p.58). That man need not wait to be reborn as a *candāla* in his next life; he will at once be judged by others to be one. This recalls the point made by Sāyaṇa in his comment on the *Taittirīyabrahmāṇa* quotation above (note 51). The 'visible' result of the man who eats without feeding others is that the food burns him then and there (*tadānīm eva*); he need not wait for the burning of the cremation fire or the flames of hell (Sāy. on Tait.Br., Dh.kośa II.1.p.477–8).

A final observation should be made concerning these punishments. Every ruling given by Tryambaka so far has been couched in the masculine, many of them involving terms that cannot be applied (by the modification of gender) to women. I have already discussed the implications of the term *dvija* (initiation, Vedic education, etc.): by the definition of Tryambaka's day, these cannot apply to women (see pp.34–9). The same can be said of all the other specific terms describing the householder host: 'the performer of the *agnihotra* ritual' (*hutāgnihotrah*); 'the performer of the *vaiśvadeva* ritual' (*kṛtavaiśvadevah*); 'the man who offers oblations in five fires' (*pañcāgnīn . . . juhvataḥ*); the reciter of the *vedas*, *aṅgas* and *upāṅgas*; the performer of domestic rituals, the five 'great sacrifices' and *soma* rituals; and so on. Judging from these rulings, we may conclude that the responsibility for the honouring of guests remains that of the male householder, and that the punishments described will be inflicted on him. We may also assume, however, that the householder's wife, being his assistant in ritual matters, would be considered an accessory to her husband's crime, and punished accordingly.

The last *śloka* in the group attributed to the *Āsvamedhikaparvan* turns from the penalties incurred by inhospitality to the rewards in store for the householder who duly honours his guests. In this section, therefore, I have gathered together the quotations relating to this topic. Apart from the *śloka* attributed to Manu—which belongs to the same passage referred to earlier (Sdhp.14v.1–6; note 44)—all the quotations are taken in sequence, beginning with the final *śloka* in the *Āsvamedhaparvan* group.

'Whatever one does not offer (lit. "feed") to the guest, one should

not eat oneself: paying homage to the guest (in this way) brings one wealth, fame, long life and heaven.<sup>57</sup> This ruling recalls Kullūka's interpretation of *satkrtya* in Manu III.99: one should take the same care with seasoning, sauces, condiments and so on in relation to the guest's food as one does to one's own (*vyañjanādibhiḥ satkrtyam cānnam*, Kull.; see pp.183–4). Since the wife is responsible for the cooking, this is in effect a ruling for her.

According to a *śloka* attributed to Śātātapa, the highest heaven is reserved for the householder who honours guests. 'For the householder cannot by means of either (Vedic) study, (performing) the *agnihotra* oblation, (offering) sacrifice, or (performing) austerities attain those (heavenly) worlds that are (his simply) as a result of honouring the guest.'<sup>58</sup> A similar comparison is made in the *śloka* attributed earlier to Manu. 'That meritorious reward which one obtains by offering oblations in the fire according to the injunction — just like that, or even better, is the reward (obtained) when the brahmin (guest) is given satisfaction.'<sup>59</sup> A *śloka* taken from Bhīṣma's eulogy of guest-worship in the *Anuśāsanaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* agrees. 'When a guest is honoured, whatever good he conceives in his mind (concerning his host) cannot be equalled by a hundred sacrifices, so men say.'<sup>60</sup> We may again note that the references to Vedic study, sacrifices and so on indicate that the recipient of the reward is assumed to be the male householder. Presumably the devoted wife would be allowed to join her husband in the highest heaven. For she is said to be 'half her husband's body' (*śarīrārdham smṛtā*) and thus participates equally in both his merit and his

57. *naiva svayam tad aśnīyād atithim yan na bhojayet / dhanyam yaśasyam āyusyam svargyam cātithipūjanam // iti* // Sdhp.14v.10–15r.1 < Sm.M.I. p.424; Par.M.I.i.p.403 (Mbh., *aśvamedhika*); Manu III.106 (*vātithī* for *cātithī*). Not in Mbh. crit. edn. index.

58. *śātātapo 'pi // svādhyāyēagnihotreṇa yajñena tapasā tathā / nāvāpnōti gr̥hī lokān yathā tv atithipūjanāt // iti* // Sdhp.15r.1–2 (Sāt.) < Sm.M.II.p.425 (Sāt.); Par.M.I.i.p.216 (Viṣṇu); Par.M.I.i.p.404 (Sāt.); Sm.C.II.p.593 (Viṣṇu); Vis.Sm.67.44 (no *cāpnoti* for *nāvāpnōti*).

59. *(manur api // Sdhp.14v.1) agnau hutvā vidhānenā yat punyaphalam aśnute / tena tulyam viśiṣṭam vā brāhmaṇe tarpite phalam //* Sdhp.14v.3–4 (Manu) < ? Not in N.S. edn. of Manu.

60. *ānuśāsanike 'pi // atithīḥ pūjito yad dhi dhyāyate manasā śubham / na tat kratu sātenāpi tulyam āhur manīśināḥ // iti* // Sdhp.15r.2–4 (Mbh.) < Mbh.XIII.2.91 (yasya for *yad dhi*). See also Sdhp.66r.6–7, section V.3.c.ii.

sin (*punyāpunyaphale samā*; Apar.p.111, Bṛhaspati).

There follows a series of *ślokas* on the same subject, all attributed to the conversation between Tārksya and Sarasvatī in the *Āranyakaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* (Mbh.III.184.1–25). In the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*, however, all the *ślokas* are in fact to be found in the appendix to Mbh.III. ‘The superior brahmin (lit. “best of twice-born”) gives (food) to guests, beings and ancestors and (then) eats the dishes that remain (*śiṣṭāny annāni*)—what could be better than that? O Indra, there is nothing in the world more wholesome than this: that a man always gives food to guests and then eats of that (which is left). However many morsels of food a twice-born (guest) eats each day, the giver (host) receives the reward of (giving) that many thousands of cows (as sacrificial fee to the priests).’<sup>61</sup> ‘O excellent Bharata, the reward (obtained) by washing the feet of a learned brahmin (guest) is (equal to) that obtained by giving a reddish-brown cow (cf. Yājñ.I.205) at Jyeṣṭhā lake (a sacred *tīrtha*; cf. PVK IV.p.759). As long as the ground remains wet from the water (used) for (washing) the feet of the twice-born, the ancestors will drink water from a lotus petal (cup). Welcoming (a guest) pleases the (three *śrauta*) fires; (offering) a seat (pleases) Indra; washing the feet (pleases) the ancestors; (offering) food (pleases) Prajāpati.’<sup>62</sup>

The emphasis on the idea that one should offer food to the guest and then eat what he leaves is a deliberate analogy with the sacrifice. As Tryambaka explains earlier, with regard to his quotation from the *Kaṭhopaniṣad* (Sdhp.13v.5<Kaṭh.Up.I.7; see above, pp.185–8),

61. āranyakake parvanī tārksyasarasvatīsamvāde // yo datvātihibhūtebhyaḥ pitrbhyas ca dvijottamah / śiṣṭāny annāni yo bhūnkte kiṁ vai sukhatarām tataḥ // ato mr̄ṣatarām nānya[!] loke kiṁ cic chatakrato / datvā yas tv ati-thibhyo 'nnam bhūnkte tenaiva nityaśah // yāvato hy andhasaḥ piṇḍān aśnāti satatam dvijah / tāvatām gosahasrānām phalam āpnoti dāyakah // Sdhp.15r.4–7 (Mbh.; PT, °ātithipūjyebhyah for °ātithibhūtebhyaḥ)< Mbh.III.appendix I, no.21, *ślokas* 32–4 (nānyat pūrtam for nānya[!] loke; vai for 'nnam; prāp-noti for āpnoti).

62. kapilāyām tu dattāyām yat phalam jyeṣṭhapuṣkare / tat phalam bharata śreṣṭha viprānām pādadhāvane // dvijapādodakaklinnā yāvat tiṣṭhati medinī/ tāvat puṣkaraparṇena pibanti pitaro jalām // svāgatenāgnayas ṛptā< h>āsa-nena śatakratuh / pitarah pādaśaucena // annādhyena prajāpatih ji iti // Sdhp.15r.7–10 (Mbh.)< Mbh.III appendix I, no.21A, lines 137–42; cf. Mbh.XIV appendix I, no.4, lines 944–7.

the guest is like fire. Like the sacrificial fire, he consumes the offering. What is left, like *prasāda*, is blessed. According to Manu III.285, one should eat both the residue of the offering to guests (*vighasobhuktāśesam*) and that of the sacrifice (*yajñāśesam . . . amṛtam*) every day. For in both ‘sacrifices’, food is magically transformed into nectar. A similar idea is to be found in the ruling that a pupil should first offer his alms-food to his teacher and then eat what is left: in this case, the teacher is the deity, the alms-food the sacrificial offering (*bhaikṣam haviṣā*) and the teacher’s stomach the *āhavanīya* fire (Āp.I.1.3.43–I.1.4.2). Similarly, at meal-times, the wife should offer cooked food to her husband and then eat what he leaves. I shall return to this point below (see *uccīṣṭa*, pp.221–7).

Tryambaka himself develops this parallel between the fire sacrifice and the homage one should pay to guests. I return here to the original sequence of the treatise followed until half-way through section IIC (see p. 190). Tryambaka quotes at length from ‘the *Brāhmaṇa* quoted by Āpastamba’ (āpastambodāhṛtabrāhmaṇam *api*; that is, Āp.II.3.7.1–11).

Āpastamba frequently cites the *Brāhmaṇas*; more often than not with the phrase *iti hi brāhmaṇam* (e.g. Āp.I.1.1.10,11; I.1.3.9; I.1.3.26, see below; I.2.7.7,11; *athāpi brāhmaṇam*, I.3.10.8). In this particular case, the phrase is given in a separate *sūtra* and interpreted by Haradatta as referring to each of the preceding *sūtras* 1–10 (*iti brāhmaṇam ity asya sarvena sambandhah*; Ujj. on Āp. II.3.7.11). Since *sūtra* 5 is also a quotation (. . . *iti vijñāyate*), Haradatta may have thought it necessary to stipulate that the *Brāhmaṇa* quotation includes *sūtras* 1 to 5 as well as 6 to 10. Unfortunately, Bühler has been seriously misled by the comment. In his translation of *sūtra* 11, he takes *brāhmaṇam* to mean ‘brahmin’ (masc. acc.) instead of ‘*Brāhmaṇa* text’ (neut. nom.). He notes that nine of the thirteen manuscripts used for his edition read *iti brāhmaṇam* instead of *iti hi brāhmaṇam* (Āp., Bühler edn., p.64, footnote); and that Haradatta has also dropped the *hi*. (In the Benares edition, the *hi* is dropped from both the *sūtra* and the commentary.) The resulting loss of the usual formula for citing the *Brāhmaṇa* seems to have encouraged Bühler to interpret the phrase otherwise. He translates. ‘Thus (a *Brāhmaṇa* shall treat) a *Brāhmaṇa* (and a *Kshatriya* and a *Vaiśya* their caste-fellows).’ He has evidently taken Haradatta’s *sarvena*

*sambandhah* to mean ‘referring to each person’ instead of ‘referring to each *sūtra*’. To make sense of this translation, we must assume the verb and general construction of *sūtras* 12 (*rājānam ced atithir abhyāgacchet . . .*) and 13 (*āhitāgnim ced atithir abhyāgacchet . . .*). According to Bühler’s interpretation, therefore, we have a threefold distinction: the behaviour of a brahmin (*sūtras* 1–11); that of a king (*sūtra* 12); and that of an *agnihotrin* (*sūtra* 13).

But this is both unnecessary and wrong. For one thing, the *agnihotrin* is a brahmin. For another, unlike *sūtras* 12 and 13, the preceding group does not in fact describe the behaviour of the host at all. As Tryambaka’s extract demonstrates, *sūtras* 1–11 spell out the symbolic correspondences in operation during the ritual of *atithipūjā*, whoever is acting as host. *Sūtras* 12 and 13 distinguish between the two most likely categories of host: the *kṣatriya*, exemplified here by the king (*rājābhisiktaḥ kṣatriyo ‘sāv . . .*; Ujj.); and the brahmin, exemplified here by the *agnihotrin*. A further problem with Bühler’s interpretation is his translation of *brāhmaṇam* to include not only the brahmin guest but the *kṣatriya* and *vaiśya* as well. For while the term *dvija* (‘twice-born’) often denotes the brahmin alone (e.g. Rām.III.46.32b–35 < Sdhp.15v.3–8; see note 69 below), the term *brāhmaṇa* never denotes all the twice-born *varnas*.

The passage reads as follows. ‘That same (homage to guests; or “sacrifice to men”, *manusyayajñah*, Ujj.) is a (*śrauta*) sacrifice eternally performed by the householder to Prajāpati. The fire of the guest (his digestive fire; *jātharo ‘gnih*, Ujj.) is the *āhavaniya* fire. The fire in the household (the domestic fire; *grhe ‘gnir aupāsanah*, Ujj.) is the *gṛhapatya* fire. The fire in which the cooking is done (the ordinary fire; *laukikāgnih*, Ujj.) is the fire for cooking the sacrificial offering (the *dakṣinagni*, Ujj.). If a man eats before his guest (has eaten), then he devours (destroys) the nourishment, prosperity, offspring, cattle, sacrifices and good works of the household. Food that is mixed with milk (*paya upasēcanam yasya tad annam*; Ujj.) (and offered to the guest) corresponds to the *agniṣṭoma* sacrifice; that mixed with ghee to the *ukthya* sacrifice; that mixed with honey to the *atirātra* sacrifice; that mixed with meat to the *dvādaśa* sacrifice; that mixed with water brings fame and an increase in progeny. It is recognized (by the authorities) that both the guests one likes and those one dislikes enable one to go to the heavenly world. When one gives (food to guests) in the morning, at midday,

and in the evening, these (three rituals) become the (three) pressings of *soma*. When one rises after (the guest himself has risen to go; *yad gantum uttiṣṭham anutistiṣṭati*, Ujj.), that is the ritual of leaving the place of sacrifice. When one addresses (the guest) kindly, (i.e. when one performs the ritual of) praise, that is the sacrificial fee. When one takes one's leave (of a guest; i.e. follows him out as a mark of respect; *anuvrajanam*, Ujj.), his steps are the *viṣṇukramāḥ* (the steps taken by the sacrificer between the altar and the *āhavanīya* fire). When one comes back (into the house afterwards), that is the purificatory bath (marking the end of the sacrifice). Thus declares the *Brāhmaṇa* text.<sup>63</sup>

All the rituals named are types of *soma* sacrifice. I have discussed above how frequently echoes of Vedic sacrifice reappear in later rituals (see pp.102–7, pp.176–8). In this example, as in that of the internalization of the sacrifice (*prāṇagnihotra*), those echoes are deliberately sought and stressed. The purpose, and the result, is to bestow on the ritual homage to the guest the grandeur, sanctity and authority of Vedic sacrifice. By extension, therefore, the role of the wife in this apparently domestic ritual is raised to the level of the *dharma-patnī* in the *śrauta* sacrifice. As we have seen, no higher religious office is open to her.

This brings us to the central issue under discussion: the role of the wife in the ritual homage to the guest.

I shall begin with a point raised by Tryambaka considerably earlier, in the context of the *vaiśvadeva* ritual (see pp.180–3). For it is the wife's duty 'to prepare the food for the *vaiśvadeva* ritual, for the homage to guests and so on.'<sup>64</sup> Tryambaka's evidence

63. *āpastambodāhṛtabrāhmaṇam api // sa eṣa prājāpatyāḥ kuṭumbino yajño nityaprataṭataḥ // yo 'tīhīnām agnīḥ sa āhavaniyo yaḥ kuṭumbe sa gāṛhapatyo yasmin pacyate so 'nvādhāryapacanah // ūrjam puṣṭim prajāṁ paśūn iṣṭā-pūrtam iti gr̥hānām aśnāti / yaḥ pūrvo 'tīher aśnāti // paya upasecanam annam agniṣṭomasammitam sarpiṣokthyasammitam madhunātirātrasammitam māṁsena dyādaśāhasammitam udakena prajāvṛddhir āyusaś ca // priyā apriyāś cātithayāḥ svargam lokam gamayantī vijñāyate // sa yat prātar madhyandine sāyam iti dadāti savanāny eva tāni bhavanti // yad anutiṣṭhaty udavasyaty eva tat // yat sāntvayati sā dakṣinā praśamsā // yat samsādhayati te viṣṇukramāḥ // yad upāvartate so 'vabhr̥thāḥ // iti hi brāhmaṇam // iti // Sdhp.14r. 4–14v.1 (Āp.) < Āp.II.3.7.1–11. Cf. Sm.C.II.p.591 (sū.4 only).*

64. See note 36.

for this ruling—given in his section on the *vaiśvadeva* ritual but, for reasons of consistency, dealt with here—is taken from the chapter in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* describing the conversation between the seer, Rbhu, and his pupil, Nidāgha (*rbhunidāghasamvāda*). When Rbhu comes to Nidāgha's house as a guest, Nidāgha instructs his wife, Śālinī, as follows. ““O Śālinī, using all the most exquisite delicacies to be found in my house, prepare food for him.” Instructed in this way by him (Nidāgha), his wife prepared that food which is (considered) wholesome (i.e. acceptable) for a brahmin (lit. “twice-born”); (and she did this) because of the authority of a husband’s command.”<sup>65</sup>

Several points already raised may be reaffirmed here. The term *patnī* reinforces the parallel with the Vedic sacrifice and the importance of the wife’s role as sacrificer’s assistant (section II B, pp. 107–15). The instruction detailing the culinary preparations recalls Kullūka’s ruling concerning the care that should be taken with the guest’s food (see pp.183–5), and the fact that one should not eat oneself what one does not offer the guest (see pp.193–6). Finally, although the wife is responsible for the actual preparation of the food, the reference to her husband’s ‘command’ indicates under whose authority she functions. This in turn recalls earlier pronouncements concerning punishments and rewards consequent upon this ritual: the ultimate responsibility rests with him (see pp.185–8, 193–6).

Returning to Tryambaka’s section on *atithipūjā*, and back in sequence once more, the next point concerns the presence of the wife. When the husband is present, it is his responsibility; when he is absent, his wife should act on his behalf. As Tryambaka explains, ‘if the husband has gone away, any guest who comes (to the house) should be honoured by his wife (*patnī*) instead.’<sup>66</sup> ‘(This is so) because it has been established that the presence of a wife in the house is necessary for the (offering of) food to a guest, as is indicated in Manu’s statement that “one should recognize (as a guest) one

65. *tathā ca viṣṇupurāṇe rbhunidāghasamvāde nidāghah // he he śālinī madgehe yat kiñcid atiśobhanam / bhaksyopasādhanam sarvam tenāsyānnam prasādhaya // ity uktā tena sā patnī mr̄ṣṭam annam dvijasya yat / prasādhitavatī tad vai bhartur vacanagauravat // iti // Sdhp.12v.9–13r.1 (Vis.P.) < Vis. P.II. 15.14–15 (mr̄ṣṭam for sarvam; miṣṭam for mr̄ṣṭam).*

66. *patyur vipravāse patnyāpi samāgato 'tithih pūjanīyah // Sdhp.15r. 10–15v.1.*

who has come to a house where there is both a wife and the (three) fires.”<sup>67</sup>

In fact, the half-*śloka* quoted here by Tryambaka (Manu III.103b) must be taken together with Manu III.102 and 103a to make complete sense. Verse 102 defines the term ‘guest’ (*atithi*): a brahmin who stays for one night (*ekarātram tu nivasan . . . brāhmaṇah*). Verse 103 expands upon this. One should not recognize (*na*, III.103a; *vidyāt*, III.103b) the following people as guests: a brahmin who lives in the same village, or one who is making a social or business call (*naikagrāmīnam atithim vipram sāmgatikam tathā*; III. 103a), even if he has come to a house where there is a wife and the sacred fires (III.103b). The implication of the half-*śloka* is now clear: the house in which the guest may be properly honoured is that of the *agnihotrin* in which the three *śrauta* fires are worshipped; and in which the (chief) wife is present. This recalls the very similar rulings concerning the importance of the *patnī* at the fire ritual. There as here, the husband may be absent but not the wife (see section II B, pp.132–41).

Tryambaka draws his evidence for this ruling from the two episodes cited earlier in relation to whether or not the good wife should talk to a man who is not related to her (see pp.170–6): Sītā’s meeting with Rāvaṇa, and Draupadī’s with Jayadratha. He begins with the first incident. As he explains, ‘it is because of this (ruling; *ata eva*) that it is said in the *Rāmāyaṇa* that Sītā paid homage to Rāvaṇa when he came to her in the guise of a brahmin, even though Rāma was away (at the time).’<sup>68</sup> The quotation reads as follows.

‘Now when she saw Rāvaṇa, who had come in the guise of a brahmin, Maithili (Sītā) honoured him with all the attentions (traditionally enjoined) for a guest. First, she brought him a seat (*āsana*; usually a low wooden seat, see pp.183–4; but see also *bṛṣī* below) and invited him (to sit) with (the offer of) water to wash his feet. Then she said to that seemingly gentle man, “It is ready.” Seeing that he had come in the guise of a twice-born, that he

67. *upasthitam grhe vidyād bhāryā yatrāgnayo 'pi vā* (Sdhp.15v.1, Manu < Manu III.103b) *iti manuvacanenātithibhojanasya grhe bhāryāsatve niyatatvā pratipādanāditi* // Sdhp.15v.1–2.

68. *ata eva rāmāyaṇe sītayā dvijātiveṣeṇa samāgatasya rāvaṇasya rāmā-sannidhāne 'pi kṛtety uktam* // Sdhp. 15v.2–3 (*rāmāsannidhāne 'pi* is inserted in the upper margin of the MS).

was carrying an alms-bowl and water-pot, and that it was impossible to find a way of avoiding him, the woman Maithili invited him as (one usually invites) a brahmin. "Here is a cushion (*bṛsi*), O brahmin: sit if you will. And here is water for washing your feet: please accept it. And here, prepared (especially) for you, is the best forest produce: may you eat here undisturbed."<sup>67</sup>

Two things persuade Sītā to treat Rāvaṇa as she would an honoured guest. First, he looks like a brahmin. The term 'twice-born' (*dvija, dvijāti*) is repeatedly assumed here to be synonymous with 'brahmin' (*brāhmaṇavat, brāhmaṇa*). Secondly, he looks like an ascetic (*parivrājakarūpeṇa, Rām.III.46.4; parivrājakalingena, Rām.III.47.1*); that is, he carries the alms-bowl and the water-pot that are the outward signs of the ascetic (cf. Manu VI.52; Baudh.II.10.17.11; Yājñ.III.58,60). The 'attentions' (*satkāraih*; cf. *satkr̥tya*, p.184), that Sītā offers him are thus appropriate both to her own forest existence and to the apparent asceticism of the recipient. Manu, for example, rules that forest hermits should live off the produce of the forest (*vanyam*; Manu VI.12), vegetables, flowers, roots and fruits (*sākāni puṣpamūlaphalāni ca*; Manu VI.13). Indeed, a brahmin ascetic should ideally receive alms from twice-born householders who also live in the forest (*gr̥hamedhiṣu cānyeṣu dvijeṣu vanavāsiṣu*; Manu VI.27). Moreover, the 'cushion' (*bṛsi*) that Sītā offers Rāvaṇa is the special bundle of cloth or grass considered appropriate to the ascetic ('Wulst, Bausch von gewundenem Gras u.s.w.', Böhtlingk and Roth).

The earlier lengthy quotation concerning Draupadī and Jayadratha's messenger, Koṭikāśya, was taken from Mbh.III.250 (see pp.173–5). In this section, the extract is from the following chapter.

69. *dvijātiveṣenā hi tam drṣṭvā rāvaṇam āgatam // sarvair atithisatkāraih pūjyāmāsa maithili | upānīyāsanam pūrvam pādyenābhīmantrya ca // abravīt siddham ity eva tadā tam saumyadarśanam | dvijātiveṣenā samikṣya maithili samāgataṇ pātrakusumbhadhāriṇam | aśakyam uddvestum upāyadarśanam nyamantrayad brāhmaṇavat tadāṅganā // iyam bṛsi brāhmaṇa kāma<sup>ka</sup>m āsyatām idam ca pādyam pratigrhyatām iti / idam ca siddham vanajātām uttamām tvadartham avyagram ihopabhujyatām // iti // Sdhp.15v. 3–8 (cātrakusumbhadhāriṇam amended to pātra<sup>a</sup>; idam ca siddham ... ihopabhujyatām given as marginal insert; Rām.) < Rām.III.46.32b–35 (upānīyāsanam for upānīyāsanam; upāyadarśanān for upāyadarśanam); Dharmāk.III.p.174 (Rām.III.46.32b–33a, given as one śloka). PT prefers the variant reading saumyadarśana for "darśanam.*

After receiving Koṭikāśya's report, Jayadratha decides to pay Draupadī a visit. Draupadī's response is to show him the respect due to the guest. Her formal invitation forms Tryambaka's next quotation.

'O son of a king, accept this water for washing your feet and this (wooden) seat. Let me give you your morning meal — fifty deer (if you like)! Kuntī's son, Yudhiṣṭhira, will himself (i.e on his return) present you with black antelopes, spotted deer, *nyaiku* deer, tawny deer, *śarabha* deer, *śaśa* deer, nilgai, *ruru* deer, *śambara* deer, gayal, and many (other) kinds of deer (*mrga*), (as well as) wild boar, wild buffalo and whatever other wild animals (*mrgajātī*) there are.'<sup>70</sup>

I have taken the term *mrga* on its own to denote the various species of deer — at least fifty, according to Draupadī — and *mrgajātī* (fem. pl.) to indicate the other kinds of wild animals. For this reason, although *śaśa* can mean either a rabbit or a species of deer (and although van Buitenen prefers the former), I have assumed the latter. For the same reason, and also because bears are not normally considered appropriate food, I have amended the reading in T<sub>1</sub> (*rksān*) to that in the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* (*rśyān*). The latter term denotes the painted or white-footed antelope, commonly called 'nilgai'. The term *gavayān* denotes the species of wild cattle called 'gayal' which is traditionally classed as a kind of deer. It is also often confused with the 'cow-deer' (*gomrga*; translated as 'gayal' by Keith 1914:144; see also Colebrooke 1805), which is included among the sacrificial victims of the *aśvamedha* (Śat.Br.XIII.2.2.2) and equated elsewhere with cattle (Śat.Br.XIII.3.4.3). According to Sāyaṇa, the *gomrga* is a cross between a deer and a bull (Sāy. on Tait.Sam.II.1.10.2). There seems to be good reason, however, to suggest that the nilgai, gayal and *gomrga* are in fact three quite different animals (see Colebrooke 1805; Eggeling 1978:V,338–9, note 1).

70. *vanaparvanī jayadratham prati draupady api // pādyam pratigr̥hānedam  
āsanam ca nṛpātmaja // mrgān pañcāśatām caiva prātar āśam dadāni te //*  
*eneyān pr̥satān [n]yaṅkūn harinān śarabhān śaśān / rśyān rurūn śambarāṁś ca  
gavayāṁś ca mrgān bahūn // varāhān mahiśāṁś caiva yāś cānyā mrgajātayah /  
pradāsyati svayām tubhyāṇ kuntīputro yudhiṣṭhirah // iti // Sdhp.15v.8–16r.2*  
(*rksān* amended to *rśyān*; PT reads *raṅkūn* for [n]yaṅkūn; Mbh.) < Mbh.III.251.  
11–13 (variant readings include *śakān* and *śalān* for *śaśān*; *rksān* for *rśyān*).

While Sītā's offering of fruit and vegetables is appropriate for the brahmin ascetic, Draupadī's offering of a splendid selection of meat dishes is equally appropriate for a *kṣatriya* king. (Before their exile, Draupadī supervised the daily feeding of eight thousand brahmins off golden plates; see Sdhp.29v.10–30r.3< Mbh. III.222. 40–3; from section IV, pp.280–1). The other formalities are the same, as is the requirement that the ideal wife obeys the rules of hospitality even when she suspects that her 'guest' is a rogue. In both cases, obedience far outweighs commonsense.

Tryambaka's final point regarding the role of the wife in offering hospitality concerns her treatment of the Vedic student. 'Because of the *smṛti* statement that it is a sin not to give, women must give alms to Vedic students (*brahmacāribhyoh*) who come (to the house to beg) for alms.'<sup>71</sup> Tryambaka's evidence for this is taken from Āpastamba's section on Vedic studentship. The concluding phrase *iti hi brāhmaṇam*, not given here by Tryambaka, again indicates a quotation from a *Brāhmaṇa* text (cf. above, pp.196–7).

According to Āpastamba, 'if women refuse to give alms to a Vedic student whose mind is concentrated (*samāhit[ah]*), then he will snatch away the (religious merit they have obtained by) śrauta sacrifice (*yāgair arjitam dharmam*; Ujj.), religious donation (*dānenārjitam*; Ujj.), oblation (into the domestic fire; *darvihomair gārhyair arjitam*, Ujj.), (as well as their) offspring, cattle, the glory of sacred learning (*brahmavarcasam*), and food. That is why the wandering order of Vedic students should never be refused (alms).'<sup>72</sup> The last clause, omitted here by Tryambaka, explains that, amongst those students who come to beg at the house, there may well be one who would put that threat into practice (*evamvidhi evamvrataḥ*).

Two points may be made here. First, this is the only occasion in Tryambaka's treatment of *atithipūjā*—apart from the ruling that the wife should act on her husband's behalf when he is away (see notes 66 and 67)—when the injunction is applied specifically to women (*strīnām*). Usually, the ruling is either given in the masculine

71. *strībhīr bhikṣārtham ḍagatebhyo brahmacāribhyoh bhikṣā deyā / adāne dosaśravaṇāt* // Sdhp.16f.2.

72. *tathā cāpastambhal* // *strīnām pratyācakṣānānām samāhito brahmacāriṣṭam / dattām hutām prajām paśūn brahmavarcasam annādyam vṛṇkite / tasmād u ha vai brahmacārisaṅgham carantām na pratyācakṣitā* // *iti* // Sdhp. 16r.3–5 (Āp.; *hutām* omitted by PT) < Āp.1.1.3.26.

(e.g. *yo mā dadāti*; *yo datvā*; etc.) or applied directly to the male householder (e.g. *dvijah*, *gr̥hi*, etc.). Despite the fact that the wife's presence is more important than that of her husband, and that she will actually prepare and serve the food, the ruling is invariably aimed at the husband. Moreover, the reward for obedience and the punishment for disobedience are, as we have seen, both explained in terms of the husband's gain or loss (see pp.188–93, 193–6). The wife's part in all this must be read between the lines. In *dharma-sāstra* literature in general, however, the rulings relating to giving alms to the Vedic student are consistently couched in the feminine.

For example, when the student goes on his begging round in the village, he is almost always advised to apply first to one or more women (those who will not refuse, Pār.gr.II.5.5–6, Śāṅkh.gr.II.6.6; to his mother, Pār.gr.II.5.6, Śāṅkh.gr.II.6.5; or to any female relative who will not refuse, Manu II.50; cf. Āśv.gr.I.22.7). The formula he should use when he begs almost always assumes that he is talking to a woman, the position of the honorific vocative *bhavati* depending on the *varṇa* of the woman addressed (Pār.gr.II.5.2–4; Ap.I.1.3.28–30; Manu II.49; see also Wujastyk 1981:34; but cf. Āśv.gr.I.22.8). The distinction between the man's responsibility for the ritual homage of the guest and the woman's responsibility to give alms to the student demonstrates that while the former is a 'great sacrifice' (*mahāyajña*; see pp.176–8), the latter is not. It seems fitting too that the real Vedic student should beg from the householder's wife, who is traditionally described as a quasi-student in her husband-*guru*'s home (Manu II.67<SDhp.2r.8–9; see section I, p.35, note 16).

The second point concerns the things that the student may 'snatch away' from the ungenerous wife. This is not the usual formula of 'reputation, prosperity and long life' but a specific list of religious practices or goals. What is interesting is that Tryambaka himself takes the orthodox line that a woman cannot offer either *śrauta* or *gr̥hya* sacrifices (section II B, pp.107–15) or make religious donations in her own right (see section IV, pp.277–80). He does not discuss the question of children, but the orthodox view is that they belong to the husband for he owns both 'seed' and 'field' (e.g. Manu IX.32–3, 35–7; cf. section IV, pp. 300–2). The threat to cattle is to property that Tryambaka maintains is owned by the wife jointly with the rest of the household, although she has no

right to dispose of it (see section IV, pp.277–80).

The threat to the wife's 'sacred learning' is the most curious of all. For while the wife may be said to act 'jointly' with her husband in matters relating to religious rituals, donations, property and children—and thus that the rewards accrue to both of them—this cannot be said of Vedic learning. In the *Taittirīyopaniṣad*, 'the glory of sacred learning' (*brahmavarcasam*)—together with offspring, cattle and fame—is the goal and reward of the enlightened man (Tait.Up.III.6,7,8,9,10). In *dharmaśāstra*, the same phrase is used specifically in contexts relating to Vedic studentship. Manu II.37, for example, rules that if a brahmin boy desires this goal (*brahmavarcasakāmasya*), he should be initiated in his fifth year. Kullūka glosses the term as 'the ascetic power made brilliant by such things as knowing how to recite the Veda and knowing what it means' (*vedādhyayanatadarthajñānādiprakarsakṛtam tejas*). According to the orthodox view, this may apply to a woman's husband or to her son, but never to herself. We seem to have three options here. We could assume that the ruling dates from an earlier age when women did have access to Vedic study. Or we could reinterpret the phrase in terms of 'domestic glory' (cf. Śaṅkara's gloss on *pāṇḍitā*, discussed in section I, p. 38). Or we could take more literally the maxim that 'husband and wife are one' (*yo bhartā sa smṛtāṅganāḥ*; Manu IX.45), assume their complete identification in matters of religious achievement and merit (*yataś ca dampatyor aikyamataḥ*; Kull.), and interpret all the threats accordingly.

Tryambaka concludes his treatment of *atithipūjā* by distinguishing between the 'guest' (*atithi*) proper and other casual visitors. For, as he explains, 'after the *vaiśvadeva* ritual, homage should be paid by offering such things as food, as one would to a guest, to other visitors and so on.'<sup>73</sup> Any visitor to an Indian home today will find that this is still the case.

Tryambaka quotes Vyāsa. 'At the appropriate time, the wife—that is, the female head of the household (*gr̥hamukhī*)—should always be attentive in (offering) seats, food and gifts, in paying

73. *vaiśvadevānantaram atithivad abhyāgatādīnām annadānādinā pūjā kartavyā*, / Sdhp.16r.5–6 (*pūjyā* amended to *pūjā*).

respect and speaking pleasantly, as is fitting and in accordance with their merits, to (each of the following people): one's elders (or those who are worthy of respect; cf. pp.156–7), the friends of one's son(s), one's relations, the labourers one supports, those one has invited, any male or female slaves (*dāśidāśajanasya*), both guests (proper) and (ordinary) visitors, and those religious mendicants who wear a sectarian mark (*bhikṣukānām ca linginām*).<sup>74</sup>

We may note several things here. First, the ruling is aimed at the 'female head of the household' (*grhamukhī*), that is, to the senior wife of the male head of the household (whether or not the customs of polygamy and the joint family are in operation). Secondly, the wife's responsibility covers not only the offering of food and so on but also the observation of the correct order of rank or merit (cf. Vas.XI.6). The distinction between ordinary dependent labourers and slaves (or perhaps *śūdra* servants) is interesting. The reference to religious mendicants as a separate category from 'guests' reinforces my remarks above concerning the Vedic student who comes to beg for alms (pp.203–5). Manu III.94 also distinguishes between the 'guest' (*atithi*) on the one hand and the ascetic (*bhikṣave*; *parivrāje*, Kuil.) and the student (*brahmacāriṇe*; *prathamāśramine*, Kull.) on the other. Both the ascetic and the student are entitled to receive food and so on, but neither should be termed 'guests'.

This is not for lack of respect. The renoucer in particular is accorded enormous respect by householders. For example, Haradatta on Āp.II.2.4.10, indicates that some food should be set aside as alms before one even attends to one's guests. According to Par. Sm.I.51, one must perform the *cāndrāyana* penance if one fails to give alms to the student and the ascetic before one eats oneself. Even in the twentieth century, a pious woman on a student's regular begging round will not eat until the student has come for his share (Wujastyk 1981:34). But it is customary for a genuine religious mendicant to disturb a household as little as possible; to come when the cooking is done, when the meal is finished, and even the remains have been cleared away (Manu VI.56; Vas.X.8); certainly never to

74. *tathā ca vyāsah// gurūnām putramitrānām bandhūnām karmakārinām/ āhūtānām ca bhṛtyānām dāśidāśajanasya ca// atithyabhyāgaiānām ca bhikṣukānām ca linginām/ ḗsane bhojane dāne sa[m]māne priyabhāṣane// tat tad gurūnusārena prāpte kāle yathocitam / dakṣayā sarvadā bhāvyam bhāryayā gr̥hamukhyayā // iti // Sdhp.16r.6–9 (Vyāsa) < ?*

sit down to a formal meal (cf. Olivelle 1977:47–8). Food is no longer of great importance to him. Nonetheless, as Tryambaka explains in his section on general behaviour, the ideal wife never eats before she has distributed food to gods, ancestors, guests, servants, cows and the company of religious mendicants (*bhiksukuleṣu*, Sdhp. 23r.10–23v.1; from section II A, pp.273–4). The reference to a sectarian mark (cf. section II A, pp.99–100), deliberately excludes mendicants belonging to non-Hindu sects. Buddhist and Jain monks, for example, and others like them, should not be fed at all by the orthodox Hindu.

Surprisingly, Tryambaka does not in fact define the term 'guest' (*atithi*). The definitions in other texts are various. According to the *Aitareyāranyaka*, for example, if one 'attains excellence' (*śreṣṭatām aśnute*) one is a guest; if not, then one is not worthy of hospitality (Ait.Ār.I.1.1). The *Rāmāyaṇa* episode regarding Sītā and Rāvana assumes a definition that does not exclude the religious mendicant. In the *Kathopaniṣad*, the term seems to cover any brahmin who has arrived unexpectedly. Later authorities rule that a brahmin should not treat a man of lower caste as a 'guest' (Gaut.I.1.39; Manu III.110–12; Āp.II.2.4.18–20). According to Parāśara, the term denotes someone, not from one's own village, who does not stay long (*anityam āgataḥ*, Par.Sm.I.42; cf. Gaut.I.5.36). Mādhava comments that all those who move on before the day is over (*tithipūrvotsavāḥ sarve*) may be called 'guests'; the rest are merely 'visitors' (*śeṣān abhyāgatān*; Par.M.I.i.p.398, Yama). As noted above, Manu excludes anyone who is from the same village or on a social or business call (Manu III.103; Par.M.I.i.p.398–9). The previous verse defines the guest as a brahmin who stays for only one night, and derives the term accordingly (*anityam hi sthito yasmāt tasmād atithir ucyate*; Manu III.102). In the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, the term denotes one whose family is not known (*ajñātakulanāmānam*), who is destitute (*akiñcanam*), unrelated to oneself (*asambandham*), or from another country (*anyadeśāt samāgatam*; Viṣ.P.III.11.59–60; cf. Par.M.I.p.398). The *Mārkandeyapurāṇa* excludes friends (*mitram*; cf. Manu III.110,113), defining the guest as a brahmin who arrives hungry (*bubhukṣum*), tired (*śrāntam*) or begging (*yācamānam*; Mārk.P.29.26–8; Par.M.I.i.p.399). The last of these conflicts with the rulings given earlier classing mendicants and Vedic students as 'non-guests', but agrees with the *Rāmāyaṇa* episode.

Tryambaka next considers the order in which 'guests' and 'visitors' should be made welcome. According to Āpastamba, 'the feeding of guests comes first.'<sup>75</sup> The quotation runs as follows. 'One should feed guests first of all; then children, the old, the sick and any pregnant woman ([*a*]ntarvatnīḥ; but see Ujj. below). The two owners (of the house) should not refuse anyone who asks for food at the (appropriate) time.'<sup>76</sup> The last *sūtra* is also quoted at the beginning of this section on *atithipūjā* (see above, note 43).

To explain these rulings further, Tryambaka quotes at length from the *Ujjvalā*, Haradatta's commentary on the *Āpastambadharma-sūtra*. 'The term "guests" he (Āpastamba) will explain (later). One should feed them first of all. One should not eat either with them or before them. And those children who are living in one's house one should also feed first (i.e. before oneself). Since the term *antarvatnī* ("pregnant woman") is complete in itself (*siddha*), the word *strī* ("woman") is meant to indicate sisters and so on as well. The use of the term *antarvatnī* means that she (the pregnant woman) should always be honoured (in this way). "At the (appropriate) time" means at the time of the *vaiśvadeva* ritual; that is, at the end of it. The two owners (*svāminau*), that is, the master and mistress of the house (*gr̥hapatī*), should not refuse anyone who has come there hoping for food. Something should definitely be given to him.'<sup>77</sup>

Tryambaka concludes the commentary himself. '(This is so) because it says in the *Mahābhārata*, "she who gives food at the (appropriate) time". "Children, the old and the sick" means

75. *atithinām agre bhojanam āhāpustambah* // Sdhp.16r.9–10.

76. *atithīn evāgre bhojayet // bālān vrddhān rogasambandhān strīś cāntarvatnīḥ // kāle svāmināv annārthinām na pratyācakṣiyātām* // Sdhp.16r.10–16v.1  
(Ap.) < Āp.II.2.4.11–13. Cf. note 43.

77. *atro Jyvalā // atithīn vakṣyati / tān evāgre bhojayen na svayam saha bhūñjita pūrvam vā // ye ca gr̥he vartamānā bālādayas tān apy agre bhojayet / antarvatnīr ity eva siddhe strīgrahaṇām svāśrādinām api grahanārtham / antarvatnīgrahaṇām sarvatra pūjārtham // kāle vaiśvadevakāle tadante[ / ] annārthinām upasthitām svāmināv gr̥hapatī na pratyācakṣiyātām / avaśyam tasmai kimci[d] deyam // iti // Sdhp.16v.1–5 (Ujj.; PT reads *sarvapūrvārtham* for *sarvatra pūjārtham*) < Ujj. on Āp.II.2.4.11–13, Benares edn., p.192 (comment on verse 11 incomplete; *gr̥havartino* for *gr̥he vartamānā*; *agra eva* for *agre*; *vaiśvadevānte* for *vaiśvadevakāle tadante*; *annārtham* for *annārthinām*). Cf. Bombay edn. (*sarvapūrvārtham* for *sarvatra pūjārtham*).*

"everyone". Therefore what is needed (food, etc.) should be given to whoever (comes) at whatever time (he comes)."<sup>78</sup>

Several points are worth noting here. First, it is interesting that not only important guests and casual visitors but also dependants such as children, the old and the sick should be fed before the master of the house. Even more remarkable is Haradatta's suggestion that women such as 'sisters and so on' should be fed before him. However, if we compare similar rulings in Manu III.114, Vas.XI.7 and Baudh.II.7.13.5, we find some agreement with Haradatta's interpretation. Manu, for example, suggests that, even before one's guests, one should feed *suvāsinīḥ*, as well as children, the sick, and pregnant women (*garbhīṇīḥ*). In this context, the term *suvāsinī* means 'a woman who lives in a good or comfortable house', and usually denotes the daughter, whether married or not, who lives in her father's house (cf. Medh. on Manu III.114). Both Sarvajñānārāyaṇa and Nandana read *svavāsinīḥ* and take it to mean 'sisters'. Vas.XI.7 rules that, after feeding one's guests, one should feed the following members of one's own family (*svagrhyāṇām*): the unmarried girls (*kumārī*), the children (*bāla*), the old, the adolescent boys (*taruṇa*) and the *pradātāḥ*. Unable to translate the last term, Bühler retains it while suggesting that it denotes 'a class of female relatives'. The Calcutta edition amends it to *prabhṛtīn* ('dependants'), while Führer's edition reads *prajātāḥ* ('women who have given birth'; Bühler 1965:50, note 7). Baudhāyana's ruling simply lists 'guests, pregnant women, children, the old, the wretched and the sick', and makes no mention of other women at all.

Certainly, the custom in the more traditional homes today is for the women to eat only after their menfolk, guests and children have been served. However, it is also a widespread custom for the pregnant woman to return to her parents' home to deliver her child. In this case, the pregnant woman would also be the daughter or sister of the household. Haradatta's 'sisters and so on' would therefore include the unmarried and therefore very young girls, the married daughters on a visit home, pregnant women and those who have recently delivered a child. It would not include the wives of the

78. *kāle bhojanadāyinī* (Sdhp.16v.5, Mbh. < Mbh.III.222.25a) *iti bhārata-vacanāt / bālavṛddhātūradīnām sarveṣāṁ yasmin kāle yasyāpeksitam tadā tasmai deyam // iti // Sdhp.16v.5–6.*

male members of the household. In view of the importance of children and other rulings on pregnancy, the special treatment of the pregnant woman is not surprising (cf. section IV, pp.289–90). Finally, Tryambaka's last rather sweeping comment seems to render unnecessary most of the careful rulings he has made so far.

The final (unattributed) quotation in this section is attributed to the *Anuśāsanaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* in section IV. ‘The woman who provides food for weak, helpless, wretched, blind and poverty-stricken brahmins is (rightly called) “one who participates in the religious observances of her husband (*pativratabhāgīnī*).”’<sup>79</sup>

This quotation reinforces two major points concerning *atithipūjā*. First, it emphasizes the importance of the brahmin recipient of food and homage. As we have seen, the brahmin is the ideal guest for *kṣatriya* households (such as those in court circles) and, according to some, the only guest acceptable to the brahmin host. Secondly, the wife's tasks of preparing food, welcoming the guest, speaking pleasantly and serving him are all seen as her duty towards her husband's religious commitments rather than her own. In her role of ritual assistant, the wife's religious duty is to assist her husband in his (*pativratabhāgīnī*; cf. pp.50, 107–15, 281–2).

### *At meals (bhojanam ; Sdhp.16v.8–19r.9)*

Tryambaka next describes the duties of the wife that relate to eating (plates 6–9). This is an important topic in *dharmaśāstra* for, according to Manu V.4, mistakes in this sphere (*annadoṣāt*) are among the four main causes of death to brahmins. (The others are lack of Vedic study, failure to perform the appropriate actions, and laziness.) In fact, Tryambaka's presentation is by no means as elaborate as one might expect. His rulings may be divided into six categories: the wife's duty to serve at meals; the requirement that she should not be present when her husband eats; how she should serve the food; her own meal; her offering to the goddess Jyesthā; and, lastly, her post-prandial obligations such as clearing up and offering betel.

Tryambaka begins with the statement that the religious duty of

79. *brāhmaṇān durbalānāthān dīnāndhakṛpaṇāṁś tathā / bibharty annena yā nārī sā pativratabhāgīnī // iti //* Sdhp.16v.6–7<Mbh.XIII.134.48. See also Sdhp.32v.5–6 (from section IV, pp.281–2).

women also includes serving at meals (*parivesanam*).<sup>80</sup> Four quotations follow: the first indicates the duty of the wife to serve food to brahmins; the remaining three describe her duty to serve at her husband's meal (see plate 7).

The story of Uttāṅka,<sup>81</sup> from the *Ādiparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*, is a curious one and Tryambaka quotes only what he needs. Uttāṅka is a student living in the house of his brahmin teacher, Veda. When Veda has to go away for a time, he asks his pupil to take his place (*yat kiṁcid asmadgrhe parihiyate tad icchāmy aham aparihiṇam bhavatā kriyamānam iti*; Mbh.I.3.86). During Veda's absence, however, his senior wife (*upādhyāyinī*; see below) comes into her 'season' (*rtumati*; that is, she enters the period after menstruation when husband and wife should make love). The other women (*stribhīḥ*) instruct Uttāṅka to substitute for Veda in this matter also (Mbh.I.3.89). Uttāṅka refuses on the grounds that intercourse with one's teacher's wife is forbidden (*akāryam*); and Veda's orders do not include wrong-doing (Mbh.I.3.90). When Veda returns, he rewards Uttāṅka by granting him leave to go (i.e. his period of studentship is deemed to have been successfully completed). But when Uttāṅka asks to give the traditional thanks-offering (*gurvārtham*; Mbh.I.3.95), Veda cannot decide what he wants. He sends Uttāṅka to his wife instead; and his pupil repeats the question to her (Mbh.I.3.98–9). Tryambaka's quotation contains her response.

'Addressed in this way, the teacher's wife answered Uttāṅka. "Go to Pausya. Beg from him the earrings worn by his *ksatriyā* wife, and bring them (to me). In four days, there will be a religious ceremony, and I wish to serve food to the brahmins wearing those earrings. On that day, I shall make myself beautiful with those earrings. May good fortune be yours—(go and) beg!"'<sup>82</sup>

80. *parivesanam api strīdharmah* // Sdhp.16v.8.

81. Regarding the spelling of the name, the critical edition reads 'Uttāṅka'. Despite Sukthankar's second thoughts (addenda to Mbh.I.3.86) and van Buitenen's preference for 'Utaṅka', I have retained Tryambaka's spelling. According to Sukthankar, this is the spelling of the Bengali MSS, 'Udaṅka' being preferred by the southern recension.

82. *ata evādiparvani uttāṅkopādhyāyinyāḥ pativesanam uktam//saivam uktopādhyāyiny uttāṅkam uvāca/gaccha pausyam bhiksasva tasya ksatriyayā ye piṇaddhe kundale stah/ te ānayasveti/ itāś caturthe 'hani punyakam bhavitā/ tābhyaṁ ābaddhābhyaṁ brāhmaṇān pariveṣṭum icchāmi/ śobhayamānā mām yathā tābhyaṁ kundalābhyaṁ tasminn ahani sampādayāmi/ śreyo hi te syād*

Tryambaka's point is that if brahmins are to be fed, then the host's chief wife should serve them. We may note two further points. First, the story is an interesting demonstration of a conflict of duties: the student's duty to obey his teacher to the letter; the prohibition on intercourse with one's teacher's wife (one of the five *mahāpātakas* or 'great sins'; cf. pp.219–20); and the duty not to let a woman's 'season' (*rtu*) pass neglected (*ṛtukāladharmah*; section IV, pp.287–8). Uttaika solves his problem by weighing the opinions of the women (*strīnām vacanam*) against the unspoken intentions of his teacher; not surprisingly, the latter prevails. In the final section of his treatise, Tryambaka discusses the question of women caught in similar conflicts. His advice is predictable: the wife's first duty is to obey her husband even when this conflicts with other duties (*itaradharma-pamardenāpi*; see section V, pp.308–9), even when it involves doing something that is normally considered wrong (*akāryakarane 'pi*; section V, pp.309–12). In Tryambaka's view, therefore, Veda's wife is in the wrong: her duty to obey her husband's wishes should outweigh the urgency of the *rtu*. All the more surprising perhaps that Tryambaka refers to the episode at all.

Secondly, the terms *kṣatriyā* and *upādhyāyinī* (or, more commonly, *upādhyāyānī*; see Mbh.I.3.100, variant reading) are of more than grammatical interest. Pāṇ.IV.1.4 (*ajādy atas tāp*) rules that nominal stems in -*a* form feminines in -ā. Thus *sūdra* ('a *sūdra* man') becomes *sūdrā* ('a *sūdra* woman'; Kāś.); *kṣatriya* ('a *kṣatriya* man') becomes *kṣatriyā* ('a *kṣatriya* woman'); *upādhyāya* ('a male teacher') becomes *upādhyāyā* ('a female teacher'; Kāty. on Pāṇ.III.3.21); *ācārya* ('a male teacher') becomes *ācāryā* ('a female teacher'). Pāṇ.IV.1.48 (*pumyogād ākhyāyām*) rules that the suffix -ī indicates the wife in relation to her husband. Thus *sūdra* ('a *sūdra* man') becomes *sūdrī* ('the wife of a *sūdra* man'; Kāś. on Pāṇ.IV.1.4). Similarly, *gaṇaka* ('a male astrologer') becomes either *gaṇakā* ('a female astrologer') or *gaṇakī* ('an astrologer's wife'; *gaṇakasya strī gaṇakī*, Kāś. on Pāṇ.IV.1.48), depending on who has the knowledge of astrology. Other examples cited by the *Kāśikā* include *mahā-mātrī* ('the wife of a chief minister') and *praśthī* ('the wife of a chief').

*bhikṣanām kurvata iti // Sdhp.16v.8–17r.2 (Mbh.)<Mbh.I.3.100 (pratyuvāca for *uvāca*; *pauṣyam rājānam* for *pauṣyam*; *ye* and *stah* omitted; *ānayasya* for *ānayasveti*; *śobhamānā* for *śobhayamānā*; *mām* omitted; *sampādayasva* for *sampādayāmi*; *kṣanām* for *bhikṣanām*). N.B. variant readings give both *upādhyāyānī* and *upādhyāyī*.*

Such words apply to the woman because of her relationship with her husband (*pumyogād ete śabdāḥ striyām vartante*), and not because she possesses that same quality herself (*na tu pumāṁsamācakṣate*; Kāś. on Pāṇ. IV.1.48). Pāṇ. IV.1.49 (°ācāryāñam ānuk) rules that certain words such as *ācārya* add the augment *ān* before the suffix *-ī* to indicate this relationship of wife to husband. Thus Indra becomes *Indrāñī* ('Indra's wife'); Varuṇa becomes *Varuṇāñī* ('Varuṇa's wife'); and *ācārya* ('male teacher') becomes *ācāryāñī* ('a teacher's wife'). According to the *Kāśikā*, several words take this augment optionally. Thus *upādhyāya* ('male teacher') becomes either *upādhyādhyāñī* or *upādhyāyī* (both denoting 'the wife of the teacher'; see Mbh.I.3.100, variant readings; cf. Kāty. on Pāṇ. III.3.21); *kṣatriya* becomes *kṣatriyāñī* or *kṣatriyā* (both denoting the wife of a *kṣatriya*). It is not clear, therefore, whether the use of the term *kṣatriyā* in the *Mahābhārata* quotation is meant to indicate a *kṣatriya* woman or the wife of a *kṣatriya* man; in fact epic Sanskrit is often not precise. The use of the term *upādhyāyīñī* (and variant readings *upādhyāyāñī* and *upādhāyī*) is clear: the knowledge belongs to the husband not the wife. It should be understood, however, that the distinction between women teachers and the wives of teachers admits of the possibility—in Pāṇini's time if not in Tryambaka's—of women of both categories.

Tryambaka's next three quotations demonstrate that the wife should serve her husband at meals. In the *Vanaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*, we are told that 'the glorious Draupadī, like a mother, first gave food to all her (five) husbands and to the brahmins and (only) then took what was left (*sīṣṭam*; i.e. for herself).'<sup>83</sup> According to the *Agnipurāṇa*, the wife 'should provide for her husband whatever he likes in a meal, and bring it to him herself.'<sup>84</sup> According to Vyāsa, 'one should always eat food that is mixed with ghee, is hot, beneficial, wholesome and of a moderate amount; and which is given (served) by one's wife after she has herself washed the dishes.'<sup>85</sup>

These quotations all stress the attentive service required of the

83. *vanaparvanī draupadyāḥ parivesaṇam uktam // patīṁs tu draupadī sarvān dvijāṁś caiva yaśasvinī māteva bhoja[y]itvāgre sīṣṭam āhārayat tadā // iti // Sdhp.17r.2-3 (Mbh.) < Mbh.III.47.10 (patīṁs ca for patīṁs tu).*

84. *āgneyapurāṇe pi // yad iṣṭam bhojane bhartus tat sampādyāharet svayam // iti // Sdhp.17r.4 (Ag.P.) < ?*

85. *vyāso pi // svayam prakṣālyā pātrāni dattam annam tu bhāryayā / bhoktavyam sagṛ̥tam so[sna]m hitam pathyam mitam sadā // iti // Sdhp.17r.4* (entire śloka inserted in upper margin of MS; Vyāsa) < .?

wife. The reference to Draupadī feeding her husbands 'like a mother' (*māteva*) recalls the popular *subhāsita* that describes the ideal wife as one who is like a slave in her work (*kārye dāstī*), like a courtesan in bed (*ratau veśyā*), a mother with regard to food (*bhojane jananī-samā*), and a counsellor in adversity (*vipatsu māntrinī*, *vipattau buddhidātī*; Pad.P. *srstikhaṇḍa* 47.56; Subh.p.366, *satīvarṇanam* 9, 27). The Buddhist equivalent, the *patibbatā*, is similarly defined as a woman who cares for her husband as devotedly as a mother does for her child (Vim.I.11). Even the Buddha, lecturing the unruly Sujātā on *strīdharma*, lists the motherly type (*mātā*) among the four desirable kinds of wife; the others are the sisterly type (*bhaginiī*), the companion (*sakhī*) and the slave (*dāsī*; Aṅg.Nik.IV.p.91–4). Unlike Draupadī, however, Sujātā opts to be her husband's slave. Tryambaka alludes to these types himself in his section on women's property: Kausalyā's virtue is demonstrated by the fact that she relates to her husband as slave (*dāsīvat*), friend (*sakhīvat*), wife (*bhāryāvat*), sister (*bhaginiyat*) and mother (*mātrvat*), even when her husband ill-treats her (Sdhp.26[2]r.6–26[2]v.2; from section IV, pp.277–80).

The reference to a 'measured' (*mitam*) amount of food indicates that the good wife should not overfeed her husband. For excessive eating (*atibhojanam*) does one harm both in this world (*anārogyam anāyusyam*) and in the next (*asvargyam*; Manu II.57).

Tryambaka's second major point is that 'the wife should not be in the presence of her husband when he is eating'.<sup>86</sup> The ruling for this is taken from Yājñavalkya. 'One should not eat in the sight of one's wife (*bhāryādarśane*); nor when wearing (only) one (the lower) garment; nor when standing up'.<sup>87</sup> Vijñāneśvara glosses *bhāryādarśane* as 'in front of her when she is nearby' (*tasyām purato 'vasthitāyām*; Mit. on Yājñ.I.131). Aparārka understands both 'while he is looking at her' (*bhāryām paśyams*) and 'while she is looking at him' (*tayā ca drṣyamānas tathā*; Apar.p.173). To explain 'the sin (involved) in the presence of the wife' (*patnyāḥ sannidhāne doṣam* (i.e. when her husband is eating), both Tryambaka and Vijñāneśvara quote the same śruti statement. 'A man should not

86. *bhartur bhojanasamaye patnyā samīpe na stheyam* // Sdhp.17r.4–5.

87. *tathā ca yājñavalkyah* // *na bhāryādarśane 'snīyān naikavāsā na samsthitaḥ* // Sdhp.17r.5–6 (Yājñ.) < Yājñ.I.131b; Par.M.I.i.p.425 (Yājñ.).

eat in the vicinity of his wife or his offspring will be without strength.<sup>88</sup>

This idea is evidently one of long standing. For the dizzying array of mystical correspondences set out in the *Śatapathabrahmaṇa* includes that between the sun, the altar and the eye and, further, that between 'the man in the sun' (*mandale puruṣah*), 'the gold man' (*hiranmayah puruṣah*) in the altar, and 'the man in the right eye' (*daksine 'kṣan puruṣah*; *Śat.Br.X.5.2.6–7*). The last of these images is expanded in the verses that follow. Since a man is not complete without his mate, his other half, there is a second 'person' in the left eye (*savye 'kṣan puruṣah*), thus making a pair or couple (*mithunam*; *Śat.Br.X.5.2.8*). The 'person' in the right eye is Indra; that in the left is Indrāṇi and the god created the nose to keep them apart (*vidhṛtim akurvan nāsikām*; cf. section II A, p. 78). For this reason the husband should not eat food in the presence of his wife; and if they eat apart, a strong son (*vīryavan*) will be born (*Śat.Br.X.5.2.9*). Since among men, kings keep apart the most, they are the ones who have strong sons (*Śat.Br.X.5.2.10*). The last remark presumably refers to the predominantly *kṣatriya* customs of polygamy and separate women's quarters.

The significance of Tryambaka's prohibition, however, is by no means obvious. In the *Smṛticandrikā*'s treatment of the subject, for example, the emphasis is on privacy in general. A man should eat in private (*etac ca bhojanam rahasi kāryam*; Sm.C.II.p.599). For if he eats in private (*guptah*), he becomes rich; if he eats in public (*prakāśe*), his wealth is lost (Sm.C.II.p.599, Devala). According to some, one should eat entirely alone, that is, even apart from one's own relatives and other brahmins. For if several people sit down to eat in the same row, then each is liable to take on the effects of the others' sins (Sm.C.II.p.619, Br̥haspati; cf. *ekapāṇkti*, below, p.221; and one never knows the secret sins of another man (Sm.C.II.p.618, Ād.P.). This idea explains why even today an orthodox brahmin would not dream of eating in a public restaurant. Elsewhere, the question of being looked at by someone who is not eating arises. According to Uśanas, for example, a man should not eat when many people who are not eating are watching (*bahūnām*

88. *patnyāḥ sannidhāne dosam āha śrutiḥ // jāyāyā ante nāśnīyād avīryavād apatyam bhavati // iti // Sdhp.17r.6–7 (śruti) < Mit. on Yājñ.I.131. Cf. Śat.Br.X.5.2.9; Vas.XII.31; Viṣ.Sm.68.46.*

*ca paśyatām*); nor should many eat when one such person is watching (*ekasya paśyataḥ*; Sm.C.II.p.615). However, Viś.Sm.68.46 differentiates between this ruling (*bahūnām preksamānānām nai-kasmin bahavas tathā*) and the requirement not to eat 'together with' one's wife (*nāśnīyād bhāryayā sārdham*), thus implying that the reasons behind them are different.

In fact, this very common ruling not to eat 'with' one's wife is usually interpreted to mean not simply that he should eat apart from her but that he should not eat from the same dish. For example, Gautama's prohibition on 'eating with one's wife' (*bhāryayā saha bhojana*) is glossed by Haradatta as 'eating from one dish together with one's wife' (*bhāryayā sahaikasmin bhājane bhojanam*; Har. on Gaut.I.9.32). Kullūka interprets a similar ruling in Manu IV.43 (*nāśnīyād bhāryayā sārdham*) in much the same way (*bhāryayā sahaikapātre nāśnīyāt*, Kull.; *sārdham ekapātre*, Sarv.). For Medhātithi, the prohibition also applies to eating at the same time and place as one's wife (*ekādhikaraṇam ekakāladeśam*).

It is clear, however, that such views were not universally accepted. Nandapāṇḍita, for example, applies the prohibition only to the lower-caste wife (*bhāryā asavarnā*; Nand. on Viś.Sm.68.46, Ādyar edn.). Several commentators and digest writers allow a brahmin to eat with his brahmin wife (e.g. Sm.C.II.p.617; Mit. on Yājñ.III.200; Par.M.I.i.p.425). According to the *Smṛtyarthasāra*, a man may only eat from the same dish as his wife at the time of their marriage (*na bhāryayā sahāśnīyād vivāhavarjyam*; Sm.A.p.69). In Baudh.I.1.2.3, however, there is an interesting distinction between the customs of north and south, one that often proves useful to commentators faced with conflicting rules (e.g. Ujj. on Āp.II.4.9.7). Eating with an uninitiated person (*anupetena saha bhojanam*) and eating with one's wife (*striyā saha bhojanam*) are listed among the five practices peculiar to the south. (The other three are eating stale food and marrying the daughter of either one's maternal uncle or one's paternal aunt.) According to some authorities, the customs of a particular region do not incur sin when practised in that region (Baudh.I.1.2.6); according to others, the traditions of the learned and the conduct of those who live in Āryāvarta are always authoritative (Baudh.I.1.2.7–9; Gaut.XI.20). The north–south boundary is the river Narmada, running north of Maharashtra. Tryambaka seems to side with the latter view. Thus, although it may be the

custom for southerners to eat with their wives, in his opinion this is wrong.

There follows a discussion of how the wife should serve the meal. Tryambaka's first point is that 'when she is serving, she should not serve the food and so on by hand.'<sup>89</sup> He quotes two *ślokas* attributed to Śātātapa. '(Eating) dishes which are served by hand, and salt served separately (as opposed to salt used in the cooking), is held to be like eating earth or the consumption of cow's meat.'<sup>90</sup> 'One should not eat salt, condiments, ghee, oil, or any of the variety of foods that are licked (from the tips of one's fingers, e.g. pickles) or drunk (e.g. soups, sauces, buttermilk, etc.) if they are served by hand.'<sup>91</sup> Two further *ślokas* attributed to Yama follow. 'When alms-food, salt and condiments are served by hand, whoever eats them becomes impure and whoever serves them will not go to heaven.'<sup>92</sup> 'When served by hand, delicacies (*snehā[h]*), salt and condiments do the giver no good, while whoever eats them eats sin.'<sup>93</sup> For, according to Atri, 'when ghee or oil falls from the nails of a brahmin woman (when she is serving food by hand), that (food) is deemed inedible; whoever eats it must perform the *cāndrāyana* fast.'<sup>94</sup> According to Āpastamba, 'if ghee, oil, salt, liquids, anything made with milk (e.g. rice cooked in milk and sugar), or alms-food is

89. *pariveṣaṇasamaye annādikam hastena na pariveṣanīyam* // Sdhp.17r.7.

90. *tathā ca śātātapaḥ* // *hastadattāni cānnāni pratyukṣalavānam tathā / mṛttikābhakṣanām caiva gomāṁsābhyaśanām smṛtam* // Sdhp.17r.7-8 (Śāt.) < Sm.M.II.p.430 (gaumāṁsābhyaśanām for go°; Śāt.); Par.M.I.i.p.428 (goṁāṁsāśanavat for gomāṁsābhyaśanām; Śāt.); Sm.C.II.p.604 (as Par.M.).

91. *lovaṇām vyanjanām caiva ghṛtam tailam tathaivā ca / lehyam peyam ca vividham hastadattām na bhakṣayet* // Sdhp.17r.8-9 (Śāt.) < Sm.M.II.p.430 (Śāt.); Par.M.I.i.p.428 (Paithinasi); Sm.C.II.p.604 (as Par.M.).

92. *yamāḥ* // *hastadattā tu yā bhiksā lavaṇavyañjanāni ca / bhoktā hy uśicitām yāti dātā svargām na gacchati* // Sdhp.17r.9-10 (Yama) < Sm.M.II.p.430,411 (Yama).

93. *hastadattās tu ye snehā lavaṇavyañjanāni ca / dātāram nopatiṣṭhante bhoktā bhuñjīta kilbiṣam* // Sdhp.17v.1 (Yama) < Vas.XIV.31; Sm.M.II.p.430 (Yama); Par.M.I.i.p.428 (lavaṇavyañjanādayaḥ for lavaṇavyañjanāni ca; Vṛddhaśātātapa).

94. *atriḥ* // *ghṛtam vā yadi vā tailam brāhmaṇyā nakhaniḥṣṭam / abhojyam tad vijānīyād bhuktvā cāndrāyānam caret* // Sdhp.17v.2-3 (Atri) < Sm.M.II.p.430 (dvijātīnām for vijānīyād; Atri).

served by hand, it is not to be accepted anywhere; and therefore one should serve (such) food (only if it is) contained in a leaf or grass (bowl or cup) and not by hand.<sup>95</sup>

Bowls, plates or cups are still woven from certain large leaves (e.g. *drona*, Marathi; *katori*, Hindi) and broad-leaved grasses (*topli*, Marathi) for the use of traditional families, even educated urbanites, especially at times of large gatherings such as weddings and festivals. The *Smṛticandrikā* quotes Paithinasi's rulings concerning the types of leaves that may be used in this way (Sm.C.II. p.602). The custom is even more prevalent in southern India where banana leaves are much in evidence as plates not only in rural homes but also in some city restaurants.

More important, all these rulings, like the previous ones prohibiting a man from sharing a dish with his wife, relate to the prohibitions on eating the so-called 'left-overs' (*ucchiṣṭam*). If the person serving touches the food, then it is classed with the 'left-overs' of that person's meal, and as such impure and (therefore) prohibited to anyone else (see pp.221–7).

Tryambaka continues. 'This is why food should be served with a ladle or something similar (*darvyañdinā*).'<sup>96</sup> In order to make sense of the collection of rulings that follow, several emendations to the text have been necessary. These rest upon the assumption that the items that should not be served by hand (i.e. food in general, condiments, salt, alms-food, ghee, oil, anything cooked in milk, all liquids and 'lickable' substances, etc.; see above) are precisely those that should be served with some instrument such as a ladle (i.e. cooked food or food cooked in milk or ghee, condiments, water, food cooked in oil, and even uncooked food; see below). As we shall see, neither Kane's distinction between cooked and uncooked foods (PVK II.ii.p.762) nor Vidyārvṇava's distinction between 'liquid and semi-liquid articles' and non-liquid ones (1979:165) is borne out by these rulings.

The first quotation is attributed to Āpastamba, 'Cooked food (*kṛtānnam*; alternatively, 'food cooked in milk', *śrātānnam*; or 'food cooked in ghee', *ghṛtānnam*; see note 97) and all condiments

95. āpastambah || ghṛtam tailam ca lavaṇam pāniyam pāyasam tathā / bhiksā ca hastadattā tu na grāhyā yatra kutracit || tasmād antarhitam cānnam parñena ca trñena vā / pradadyān na tu hastena || iti || Sdhp.17v.3–4 (Āp.) < Sm.M.II.p.430 (... hastena nāyasena kadācana; Āp.).

96. tac ca parivesanam darvyañdinā kartavyam || Sdhp.17v.5.

should be served with a ladle.<sup>97</sup> Āpastamba is also credited with the pronouncement regarding ‘the sin (involved) in serving water and so on without a ladle ([ā]darvyā; i.e. by hand).<sup>98</sup> ‘Whoever wishes to serve water or cooked food without a ladle ([‘]darvyā) is (on the same level as) a brahmin-killer (*bhrūṇahā*), a drinker of alcohol, a thief and one who sleeps with his teacher’s wife. Neither food cooked with oil nor uncooked food should ever be (served) without a ladle (*t[va]darvyā*).<sup>99</sup>

We may note first that here, as so often before, Tryambaka depends heavily on the *Smṛtimuktāphala*. The similarity of both quotations and attributions suggest that they have been drawn directly from it. Secondly, the term *bhrūṇa* in *bhrūṇahā* may mean either ‘brahmin’ (e.g. Gaut.II.8.11, Har.; Vas.II.42, XX.23) or ‘foetus’ (e.g. Gaut.III.3.9, Har.; Vas.XX.23; cf. *bhrūṇaghñīm*, Sdhp.38r.4–5, section IV, p.288). Since the purpose of this ruling is to convey absolute condemnation, I have preferred the former interpretation. For brahmin-murder is held to be the greatest crime of all (Manu VIII.381). It is invariably classed as one of the five ‘great sins’ for which no expiation is possible (*mahāpātaka*; the fifth, not mentioned here, is consorting with the perpetrators of the other four; cf. Manu XI.54, Yājñ.III.227, Vas.I.20). The classification of apparently mundane wrong actions (such as serving water without a ladle) as on a par with brahmin-murder is a standard—if extravagant—means of outright condemnation in *dharmaśāstra*. Tryambaka quotes a similar parallel in relation to the

97. *tathā cāpastambah // darvyā deyam kṛtānnam ca samastavyañjanāni ca // iti //* Sdhp.17v.5–6 (Āp.) < Sm.M.II.p.430 (*śrtānnam* for *kṛtānnam*; Yama); Par.M.I.i.p.428 (*ghṛtānnam tu* for *kṛtānnam ca*; Paithīnasi); Sm.C.II.p.604 (as Par.M.; Manu).

98. *udakāder [a]darvyā parivesane dosam āha sa eva //* Sdhp.17v.6 (I have followed the emendation of *darvyā* to *adarvyā* given in PT).

99. *udakam yac ca pakvānnam yo [‘]darvyā dātum icchatī / sa bhrūṇahā surāpaś ca sa steno gurutalpagahī // tailapakvam apakvam ca na t[v'a]darvyā kadācana // iti //* Sdhp.17v.6–8 (Āp.; I have followed the emendation of *yo darvyā* to *yo ‘darvyā* given in PT and, to be consistent, have made the further emendation of *tu darvyā* to *t[v'a]darvyā*) < Sm.M.II.p.430 (first śloka attrib. to Āp.; half-śloka to Yama; *yo darvyā, tu darvyā*); Sm.C.II.p.604 (*yo darvyā*; final half-śloka omitted; Manu); Par.M.I.i.p.428 (*yo darvyā* in Bombay edn., *yodarvyā* in Calcutta edn.; *steyī ca* for *sa steno*; final half-śloka omitted; Paithīnasi).

bad practice of serving unequal portions to diners sitting in the same row (see below).

Tryambaka turns to Parāśara for 'the sin (involved in) serving food in a vessel made of iron' (*āyasa*; 'le fer', Finot 1896:34).<sup>100</sup> 'If food is brought in an iron vessel, he (i.e. whoever eats it) eats the left-overs (*ucchiṣṭa*) of a dog, and whoever gives it goes to hell. Whether one is bathing, sipping or doing anything else, an iron vessel is inappropriate.'<sup>101</sup>

In view of the variety of rulings available, Tryambaka's insistence on this point alone is curious. Certainly, Hārīta prohibits iron and earthenware vessels (Sm.C.II.p.602). But Āp.I.5.17.9–12 declares that one may eat out of an earthenware vessel that has either not been used (*anāprīte mr̥ṇmaye bhoktavyam*) or, if used, has been baked in fire (*āprītam ced abhidagdhe*); out of a metal one (*lohāni*; 'métaux', Finot 1896:12,90) that has been well scoured (*parimṛṣṭam lauhām prayatam*; *bhasmabhiḥ parimṛṣṭam*; Ujj.); or out of a wooden one that has been well scraped (*nirlikhitam dārumayam*). Moreover, Manu's rules of purification give precise details on how to clean vessels of gold, stone, silver, copper, iron, brass and so on (Manu V.111ff.). Certain materials are prohibited to certain individuals. An ascetic for example, is not to use a metal vessel (*ataijasāni pātrāni*, Manu VI.53; glossed by Kull. as 'gold, copper, brass or iron'; cf. Mit. on Yājñ.III.60; Yatidh.57.79–92; Olivelle 1977:37,168). Similarly, bronze vessels (*kāṁsyapātra*) are prohibited to ascetics, 'Vedic students and widows (Sdhp.46v.1–2. Samvarta, Sm.C.II.p.602, Pracetas; see section IV, p.299). While Manu IV.65 prohibits the use of broken vessels, the *Smṛti-candrikā* allows broken ones made of copper, silver, gold, conch or stone (Sm.C.II.p.601, Paithinasi). The menstruating woman, however, should ideally use only her own cupped hands (section IV, pp.284–5). The number of different and often conflicting rulings on this subject makes Tryambaka's single prescription all the more surprising.

Still on the subject of how the wife should serve the food, Tryambaka rules that she should show no favouritism. 'When she is

100. *āyasena pātreṇa pariveseṇe dosam āha parāśarāḥ* // Sdhp.17v.8.

101. *āyasena tu pātreṇa yad annam upadīyate, śunocchiṣṭam asau bhūrūkte dātā tu narakaṇ vrajet* // *ayahpātram ayojan syāt snānācamanakarmasu* // *iti* // Sdhp.17v.8–10 (Par.) < Sm.M.II.p.430 (Par.).

serving, she should not, on account of (her feelings of) affection and so forth, give unequal servings to those seated in the same row (*ekapāṇktiyupavīṣṭānām*).<sup>102</sup> His evidence for this is attributed to Vasistha. ‘When one gives (food) unequally to a row of diners (*ekapāṇktau*)—whether out of love or fear or the desire for gain—this action, seen in the Vedas and described in verse by the sages, the seers call “brahmin-murder” (*brahmahatyām*; cf. above).<sup>103</sup>

A ‘row of diners’ (*ekapāṇkti*) is a continuous line not broken by such formal barriers as a pillar, a door, a passage, changes of ground level, or even by lines drawn on the ground with powder or ashes (as is the custom even today in large gatherings such as weddings). Those sitting together in this continuous row must be of the same caste and social rank. Āp.I.5.17.2, for example, rules that one should not sit in the same row with unworthy people (*anarhadbhīr vā samāṇapāṇktau*); glossed by Haradatta as those who lack good family, learning and moral conduct (*abhijanavidyāvṛittarahitā*; Ujj. on Āp.I.5.17.2). For, as I have already remarked, those who sit together in this way partake of each other’s sins (see above, p.215). It follows, therefore, that those who sit in the same row are necessarily of the same rank, and so they should be treated equally.

Tryambaka’s next subsection concerns the wife’s own meal. His first point is that ‘she should pay homage to her husband’s feet (*bhartūḥ pādavandanam*) before she eats.’<sup>104</sup> His evidence is attributed to ‘Skānda.’ ‘One supreme rule is pronounced for women: she should (first) pay homage to her husband’s feet and then eat; this is the firm opinion (of the authorities).’<sup>105</sup>

Unlike the custom of paying homage to the feet of one’s parents-in-law (see pp.161–2), that of touching the husband’s feet is no

102. *parivesaṇasamaye ekapāṇktiyupavīṣṭānām snehādinā viṣamaparivesanam na kartavyam* // Sdhp.17v.10–18r.1.

103. *tathā ca vasiṣṭhah* // *yady ekapāṇktau viṣamam dadāti snehād bhayād vā yadi vārthahetoh / vedesu drṣṭām ṛṣibhiḥ ca gītām tām brahmahatyām munayo vadanti* // *iti* // Sdhp.18r.1–2 (Vas.) < Sm.M.II.p.427 (yas tv for *yady*; Yama); *Vedavyāśasmṛti* (SS; yas tv *ekapāṇktiyām* for *yaāy ekapāṇktau*; *vede ca* for *vedesu*; *tad* for *tām*). Cf. Śāṅkh.17.57.

104. *bhartūḥ pādavandanam kṛtvā bhoktavyam* // Sdhp.18r.2–3.

105. *tathā ca skānde* // *strīnām hi paramāś caiko niyamāḥ samudāhṛitāḥ abhyarcya caranau bhartur bhoktavyam iti niścayāḥ* // *iti* // Sdhp.18r.3–4 (Skānda) < Sk.P.III.2.7.39 (*bhoktavyam krtaniścayā*).

longer in evidence in Maharashtra today, nor was it even eighty years ago except perhaps as a preliminary to the wedding night (LSJ). Nonetheless, this gesture—reflecting as it does the many *smṛti* statements to the effect that the husband is the ‘god and master’ of the wife (e.g. Manu V.154; Rām.II.24.21; Mbh.XIII.134.51)—clearly was practised in orthodox households at least until the middle of the eighteenth century. Indeed, as already noted above (p.138), the high-caste village women of Nepal still ‘pay homage’ to their husbands’ feet before every rice meal by drinking their ‘foot water’ (Bennett 1983: 174–5). Another possible interpretation of the ruling is that the wife should massage her husband’s feet to relax him after the meal (see plate 8).

Tryambaka’s second point is that ‘the wife (*patnī*) should eat what is left (*ucchiṣṭam*) after her husband has eaten (plate 9).<sup>106</sup> This ruling is supported by three quotations. The first is attributed to Manu. ‘After drinking the āpośanam, a man should eat what has been given (to him) on his plate—if there is nothing wrong with it—and then he should leave some remainder (*ucchiṣṭam*) for his wife, his servants and his slaves.’<sup>107</sup> According to Vyāsa, ‘she (i.e. the good wife) desires what is given by her husband: she should eat what is left of her husband’s food, water, fruit and so on, saying “This is a great *prasāda*!”’<sup>108</sup> Tryambaka’s statement that ‘the wife should eat only after her husband has eaten’ is also supported with a quotation attributed to Vyāsa. ‘If she (first) serves the gods, guests and servants, and her husband too, and then—according to the rules (of tradition) and the (Vedic) injunction—eats the food that is left over (*śesānam*), her household will always be well fed and contented, and she will be firmly grounded in her religious duty.’<sup>109</sup>

106. *bhartur bhuktocchiṣṭam patnyā bhoktavyam* // Sdhp.18r.4.

107. *tathā ca manuh* // *pītvāpośanam aśniyāt pātradattam agarhitam / bhāryābhṛtakadāsebhyā ucchiṣṭam śesayet tataḥ* // Sdhp.18r.5–6 (Manu) < Sm.M.II.p.430 (Manu); Sm.C.II.p.608 (Vṛddhamanu); Par.M.I.i.p.422 (*dvijah* for *tataḥ*; Vṛddhamanu). Not in the available edns. of Manu.

108. *vyāsah* // *seveta bhartur ucchiṣṭam annapāñaphalādikam / mahāprasāda ity uktvā patidattam pratīcchatī* // Sdhp.18r.6–7 (Vyāsa; PT amends *māṇas* *prasāda* to *māhan* *prasāda* < Sk.P.III.2.7.24a (first half-*śloka* only; *sevate* for *seveta*; *iṣṭam annam* for *annapāna*). See also Sdhp.23r.9–10, section IV, p.273 (Skānda; *māhan* *prasāda* for *mahāprasāda*).

109. *bhartur bhojanānantaram eva striyā bhojanam āha vyāsah* // *dev[ati]ātithibhrtyānām nirvāpya patinā saha / śeṣānnam upabhuñjānā yathānyāyanā yathāvidhi* // *tuṣṭapuṣṭajanā nityam nārī dharmena yujyate* // *iti* // Sdhp.18r.7–9 (Vyāsa; *devātithi* amended to *devatātithi* to fit the metre) < ?

*Āpośana* is the technical term for the water sipped from the cupped hand (from the *brahmatartha*; see *ācamana*, section II A, pp.75–7), in the ritual performed before eating (*bhojanavidhi*). After the *vaiśvadeva* ritual, when the food is served, the man about to eat sprinkles water around the plate (*paryuṣitam*), announcing to the god of food: 'You are truth and I sprinkle you with truth' (*satyam tva rtena pariṣiñcāmi*, in the evening; *ṛtam tvā satyena pariṣiñcāmi*, at midday; Sm.A.69–70). Next, he makes offerings of rice on the ground beside his plate (*baliharanam*) to the lord of the earth (*bhūpataye svāhā / bhuvanapataye svāhā / bhūtānām pataye svāhā //*). Then he sips a little water (*āpośanam*; cf. Yājñ.I.106) from the base of his thumb, while announcing that it is nectar and will act as a 'cushion' for the god of food (*amṛtopastaranam asi*). Then he makes five offerings of rice to the five 'breaths' (*prāṇāya svāhā / apāṇāya svāhā / udānāya svāhā / vyānāya svāhā / sāmānāya svāhā //*). After these five *prāṇāhutis*, the late digests (and modern practice) add a sixth offering to Brahman: he touches water, then his eyelids and forehead (saying, *brahmaṇe namah*), and only then begins to eat (LSJ; PVK II.i.p.764). At the end of the meal, he again sips a little water, announcing this time that it will act as the 'cover' for the god of food (*amṛtāpidhānam asi*). This ritual of *bhojanavidhi* is performed only by men. With some variations, it is still practised in the more orthodox households today (cf. Vidyārṇava 1979:163–5).

*Ucchiṣṭa* is what is left on a person's plate after he has eaten, with some exceptions (*ucchiṣṭaśeṣanam tu ghṛtādivyatiriktaviṣayam*; Par.M.I.i.p.422). In fact, it was important not to eat everything on one's plate. As both the *Parāśaramādhavīya* and the *Smṛtimuktā-phala* explain, a man should always leave some food on his plate after a meal, except for certain specific substances (e.g. curd, honey, ghee, milk; Par.M.I.i.p.422; Sm.M.II.p.431). These 'permitted left-overs' are to be given to his dependants: to his wife, servants or slaves, as Tryambaka's quotation explains. No one else should eat them. Even a *sūdra* may not do so unless he is a dependant (Manu IV.80; but cf. Vas.XI.10). A similar prohibition from Āpastamba adds that if one does give these remnants to a non-brahmin, one should clean one's teeth and put the food particles thus acquired back on the plate before offering it (*dantān skuptvā vilikhya tan-malam tasminn ucchiṣṭeva dhāya dadyāt*; Ujj. on Āp.I.11.31.22), thus making its impurity graphically clear. The ruling that one

should not eat the remains of anyone else's meal is relaxed only for the child (who may eat his parents' left-overs; cf. Sm.M.II.p.431); for the student (who should eat those of his teacher, at least in a formal sense; cf. Mit. on Yājñ.1.33; Baudh.I.2.3.35,etc.); for servants (who should eat those of their master); and, in particular, for the wife (who should eat those of her husband, from his plate). Thus when Draupadī, disguised as a servant, agrees to work for Virāṭa's queen Sudesñā, she insists that she will only work for one who does not give her 'left-overs' to eat or make her wash his feet (*yo me na dadyād ucchiṣṭam na ca pādau pradhāvayet*; Mbh.IV.8.29). The agreement between the two-women that such things will not be required of her amounts to a promise that Virāṭa will make no sexual demands of Draupadī; that is, he will not treat her like a wife. Hence too the ruling that the menstruating woman should not eat from her husband's plate until she has been purified on the fourth day: marital intimacy is excluded at this time (see p.285).

It must be remembered, however, that for food to be acceptable in the first place, it must already be the sanctified 'left-overs' of the gods, ancestors, guests and anyone else on the list of priority given above. As Manu explains in several *ślokas*, the householder should eat what remains (*śeṣa*) after he has offered food to the gods, sages, guests, ancestors and household deities (Manu III.117); he and his wife should eat what is left (*avasīṣṭam*) after the brahmins, relatives and servants have eaten (Manu III.116). A man who eats without first providing for guests and dependants is doomed (Manu III.115, 118); whereas the food that is left after the performance of a sacrifice (*yajñaśiṣṭa*) is the food of virtuous men (Manu III.118). Thus, just as a man looks forward to eating the *prasāda* of a sacrifice or *pūjā*, believing it to be blessed by the ritual offering (cf. Gonda 1980: 187ff.; Vidyārṇava 1979:163; Morinis 1984:73), so the wife should look forward to eating the *prasāda* left on her husband's plate after the ritual of eating, believing it to be doubly blessed. In this context, Tryambaka's use of the term *patnī* seems apt: we may conclude both that the practice is a religious duty rather than merely a domestic matter, and that it is the privilege of the chief wife. The explicit reference to the husband's 'left-overs' as *prasāda* is a further reflection of the traditional belief that a woman's husband is her primary god. In more general terms, as Parry explains, what pollutes the pure purifies the impure (1979: 97–100). Thus the 'left-overs' of the higher castes purify the lower castes; the *prasāda* con-

secrated to the gods purifies all worshippers who receive it; and the remains of the husband's meal purify the wife.<sup>110</sup>

Tryambaka's next statement, together with its supporting quotation from Manu, concerns the wife's offering to the goddess Jyesthā. I shall deal with this later (see below, pp.227–9). Here, I shall proceed with the other rulings relating to the wife's own meal.

A third point concerning this topic is that 'the *patnī* should avoid all food, drink and so on that her husband does not eat.'<sup>111</sup> According to Vyāsa, 'the chaste wife (*sati*) should avoid everything that her husband does not drink, eat or (in any way) consume (e.g. betel, etc.).'<sup>112</sup> Like Gāndhārī who, by blindfolding herself, chose not to see what her blind husband could not see (Mbh.I.110.14), the ideal wife should not even taste what her husband cannot or will not eat. Even at the beginning of the twentieth century, this was both the ideal and the practice of the more orthodox households (LSJ). For, as previously noted, it was believed that the perfect wife grew to be more and more like her husband until eventually she merged with him as the river merges with the sea (Manu IX.22; cf. above, pp.34–9, 156–7).

110. This custom has continued in traditional India well into the twentieth century. My own teacher, Tarkatīrtha Lakshmanshastri Joshi (now in his eighties), was married at the age of twenty-six to a girl of fourteen. Since his own mother had died, the female head of the joint household was his elder brother's twenty-two-year-old wife: it was her duty to teach the new bride how to behave. As a result, both women served food to their husbands at meal-times, always making sure that they had far more on their plates than they could possibly eat. When the men had finished, each wife ate what was left on her own husband's plate. Not until Lakshmanshastri Joshi took over his teacher's *pāthasālā* some distance away, and so set up a separate establishment there, did he feel able to give his wife a separate plate and her own food. Two things are of interest here: first, that in this particular household the custom was enforced not by a man but by a woman, and one so young; secondly, that although Lakshmanshastri Joshi did not like the custom, he did not consider opposing the views of the *gr̥hamukhī*, though she was younger than him by several years and he was a well-established scholar who had completed the full term of Vedic studies. According to Lynn Bennett, this practice is still in force in Nepal (1983:174).

111. *bhartrabhuktam annapānādi patnyā varjanīyam* // Sdhp.18v.2.

112. *tathā ca vyāsah* // *yac ca bhartā na pibati yac ca bhartā na khādati / yac ca bhartā na cāśnāti tat sarvam̄ varjayet satī* // *iti* // Sdhp.18v.2–3  
(Vyāsa) < ?

*A fortiori*, ‘the (good) wife should not eat (tasty or especially) wholesome food while neglecting (to serve them to) her husband.’<sup>113</sup> A quotation attributed to ‘Skānda’ explains. ‘If a woman neglects her husband while she alone eats wholesome food, then she will be (reborn as) a village sow or a female bat that eats its own excrement.’<sup>114</sup> Clearly, if a woman eats only what is left on her husband’s plate, there is little danger that this might happen. Since the hog eats all the village refuse and excrement and is commonly known by names deriving from this fact (e.g. *viṭcara*, *vidvarāha*), the last epithet may refer to it as well as to the bat. We may also note that threats of this kind always specify a female animal for a female offender: not only is it normal for a woman to retain her gender in transmigration (cf. Manu XII.72; Sdhp.39v.10–40r.1, from section IV, p.188), but a female is always a step below the male in the scale of births. This point is discussed in more detail in section III on the inherent nature of women.

Tryambaka’s final point regarding the wife’s meal is that ‘she should not eat while her husband is watching.’<sup>115</sup> According to a *śloka* attributed to Vyāsa, ‘she should not do any of the following things when her husband is watching: eating, vomiting, sleeping, getting dressed or making herself beautiful.’<sup>116</sup> This is the second of two *ślokas*, both attributed to Vyāsa, that are dealt with earlier in Tryambaka’s subsection on getting dressed in the morning (section IIA, pp.95–6, note 72). Similar rulings may be found elsewhere. Manu IV.43, for example, rules that a man should not look at his wife when she is eating, sneezing, yawning or sitting at ease (*āśinām yaḥāsukham*). Gaut.IX.9.32 specifies not looking at a woman who is anointing her body with oil (cf. Har.).

The *Śatapathabrahmaṇa* gives one reason why the husband should

113. *striyā bhartāram vihāya mr̄ṣṭam annam na bhoktavyam* // Sdhp.18v.3–4.

114. *tathā ca skānde* // *yā bhartāram parityajya mr̄ṣṭam aśnāti kevalam / grāme sā sūkari bhūyād valgūlī vā svavidbhujā* // Sdhp.18v.4–5 (Skānda) < Sk.P.III.2.7.44 (*mr̄ṣṭam* for *mr̄ṣṭam*; *vātha* for *vā sva*). See also Sdhp.27r.9–10, section IV (*smṛtyantaram*).

115. *paśyati priye patnyā na bhoktavyam* // Sdhp.18v.5.

116. *tathā ca vyāsah* // *bhojanam vamanam nidrām paridhānam ca vāsasām / prārambhām maṇḍanānām ca na kuryāt paśyati priye* // iti // Sdhp.18v.5–6 (Vyāsa) < Sm.M.I.p.157 (Vyāsa). Cf. section IIA, note 72.

eat apart from his wife (Śat.Br.X.5.2.9; see above, pp.214–17), and quite another for why the wife should eat apart from her husband. As is explained in the section on offerings made to the wives of the gods (*patnīsamiyāga*), one should conceal such offerings and the fire from the sight of the male gods. If one does not do this, the gods will expect to receive those offerings themselves and so will be disappointed. The verse concludes: and this is why Yājñavalkya says that on earth too women should eat apart from men (Śat.Br.I.9.2.12).

I now return to the rulings omitted earlier concerning the wife's equivalent to her husband's pre-dinner ritual (*bhojanavidhi*). 'Women should make an offering of food (*balidānam*) to the goddess Jyeṣṭhā at the time of their own meal.'<sup>117</sup> The following two *ślokas* are attributed to Manu. 'The woman who does not make a daily food-offering (*bali*) to Jyeṣṭhā, according to her resources, from the food she is about to eat, will go to hell when she dies. Women who want sons, grandsons and wealth should propitiate Jyeṣṭhā with a food-offering (*balikarman*) every day without fail.'<sup>118</sup>

It is important to distinguish between three separate rituals here. First, the 'great sacrifice' (*mahāyajña*) in which morsels of food are offered to all beings (*balikarman, bhūtayajña*; e.g. Āp.II.2.3.18ff.; PVK II.ii.pp.745ff.; cf. above, pp.176–8), is performed by men at the same time as the *vaiśvadeva* ritual. Secondly, the simple offering of morsels of food beside one's plate as a formality before eating (*baliharaṇa*) is performed by men as part of the *bhojanavidhi*. Thirdly, women are required to make their own formal offering of morsels of food to the goddess Jyeṣṭhā (*balidānam*) before they too may eat. By using the term *balikarman* for the women's ritual, it is being deliberately raised to the level of the rituals performed by men. This is in keeping with the high moral tone with which the duties of women are described in this treatise.

Jyeṣṭhā, literally 'eldest', is the goddess of misfortune, personi-

117. *svabhojanasamaye strībhīr jyeṣṭhādevyai balidānam kartavyam // Sdhp.18r.9.*

118. *tathā ca manūḥ // na dadāti ca yā nārī jyeṣṭhāyai pratyaham balim / bhojyād annād yathāśakti sā pretya narakam vrajet // avaśyam eva nārībhīr jyeṣṭhāyai balikarmanā/ prīṇanam pratyaham kāryam putraputradhanepsu-bhīḥ // iti// Sdhp.18r.10–18v.2 (Manu) < Sm.M.I.p.158 (tu for ca; Vyāsa). Not in available edns. of Manu.*

fied as the elder sister of Lakṣmī or Śrī, the goddess of beauty and prosperity. According to some accounts of the myth of the great churning of the ocean by the gods and demons, Jyesthā was born from the poison swallowed by Siva (e.g. Pad.P.VI.260.22–3). According to the *Lingapurāṇa* (II.6.2ff.), she emerged from the ocean when it was churned for the second time (v.4). Jyesthā (also called Alakṣmī, 'misfortune') represents the darker side of creation. As the *Lingapurāṇa* explains, in order to delude mankind (*mohanāya*), Viṣṇu made the universe twofold (*jagaddvaidham idam cakre*). The good half (*dharma*) comprised the brahmins, the Vedas, and the goddess Śrī (v.3); the bad half (*adharma*) comprised wicked or inferior men (*aśubhān*), those outside the Vedas (*veda[b]āhyān*) and the goddess Jyesthā (v.4). The latter dwells far from the path of the Vedas (v.17,27) and is always present wherever husband and wife quarrel (*yatra bhartā ca bhāryā ca paraspavirodhinai*; v.31) and wherever false mendicants (*bhiksū[b]imba*; i.e. heretics), naked Jains (*ksapāṇaka*) or Buddhists (*bauddha*) are found (v.54). According to the myth, Jyesthā married a sage who found her so irreligious and antisocial that he abandoned her in such a place where local divinities were worshipped and heretical (i.e. non-Vedic) rituals were performed. Instructing her to support herself on the offerings made by women devotees (v.79), the sage left her there. Eventually, Jyesthā repented of her ways and turned to Viṣṇu for help.

Throughout his treatise, Tryambaka insists that the orthodox wife should worship no deity other than her husband. It is interesting, therefore, that the only exceptions he allows are the two sister goddesses, Śrī (Lakṣmī) and Jyesthā (Alakṣmī). I have discussed briefly the ambivalent attitudes evident in stories about Śrī and the negative associations carefully glossed over by Tryambaka (see section II A, pp.60–3). Jyesthā presents an even more ambivalent image of and for the Hindu wife. Indeed, the resonances between the goddess and her namesake in orthodox society—the *jyesthā* or senior wife in the polygamous household—are particularly striking. As the older wife—perhaps superseded by a younger one chosen for her beauty rather than according to ritual requirements—the goddess is usually portrayed as a woman of unappealing face and solid proportions. An ornate hair-style, costly ornaments, and the *tilaka* on her forehead indicate her good fortune in that her husband is still alive (cf. section II A, pp.96–101). She is flanked

by two attendants, described in the texts as her son and daughter, and so has evidently earned the respect due to the mother of her husband's ritual heir. While the crow on her banner and the donkey ascribed to her in some texts are clearly inauspicious, the broomstick is both a tool and a weapon.<sup>119</sup> In fact, this highly ambivalent image combines many of the major themes relating to the high-caste senior wife: domestic concerns; ritual inferiority; and yet the acknowledged power in the home. As the goddess of 'inferior' people who lack Vedic initiation and ritual, Jyesthā is the obvious recipient of the worship of women. But the offering of food by orthodox (yet uninitiated) women to such a goddess presents a marked contrast with the equivalent offerings made by their initiated husbands (cf. Leslie 1984).

Tryambaka finally considers what the good wife should do after her meal (*bhojanānantarakṛtyam*). A general rule, presumably applicable to both men and women, is attributed to Śāṇḍilya. 'After washing both hands with either earth or something like ground *māṣa* beans, and after washing one's knees and feet, one should clean one's teeth with twigs.'<sup>120</sup> *Māṣa* beans are a common food today (considered heavy and hard to digest; Meulenbeld 1974:194), but in earlier times they were also used as a cleansing agent (cf. Gode 1969:163, Apar.). (The question of the twigs to be used for cleaning one's teeth is discussed in section IIA, pp. 78–82).

'Then,' according to the *Smṛtyarthaśāra*, 'after washing one's hands, one should drop (water) into one's eyes by letting it trickle from (the ends of) one's fingers. Then one should touch one's eyes (i.e. wipe them), sip water, and contemplate one's personal deity

119. E.g. *The Image of Man* 1982:116, Fig.79; Delhi National Museum nos.59.153/339, 59.153/342, 62.484; American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi, no.12670; Institut Français d'Indologie, Pondicherry, neg. nos. 252–9, 1704–9, 5809–9, 5840–6, 6155–11, 6793–10, 7512–8, 7632–5. Cf. Lal 1980:81–2, Figs.8a-c; Rao 1914: I.ii.pp.157–9, Plates CXXI–CXXIII. For the text and translation of the ritual worship of Jyeṣṭhā, but without any allusion to its relevance for women, see *Baudhāyanagrhyapariśiṣṭasūtra* III.9, pp.19–20, 50–1; cf. *Caturvargacintāmani* II.ii.pp.638ff.

120. *bhojanānantarakṛtyam āha śāṇḍilyah // māṣādicūrnair mrdbhir vā praksālyā karayor dvayam / praksālyā jānupādau ca kāṣṭhair dantān viśodhayet // Sdhp.18v.6–8 < ?*

(*iṣṭadevatā*).<sup>121</sup> The act of dropping water into the eyes after a meal is both a ritual and a medical requirement. For the fingers used are those one has been eating with and the traces of food left on them (after washing) are believed to have healing qualities. The term *upasparsana* can mean touching something with water as a form of ablution but it is used in this context to denote the *ācamana* ritual described earlier (pp.75–7). For even today it is the custom of orthodox men or initiated boys (e.g. in a traditional *pāthāśālā*) to eat, wash hands, drop water into the eyes, and then sit with their hands ‘between their knees’ (*antarjānu*; cf. section IIC, p.75) to do the sipping ritual (LSJ). The implication here is that women should do this too.

The next set of rulings describes the process of clearing away and washing up; these are also couched in the masculine. Attributed to Āpastamba, they are taken from the *Āpastambadharmasūtra* section on the duties of the householder. ‘(Any particles left) where it (the meal) has been eaten should be swept up and taken away, and the area should be sprinkled with water. Then one should scrape the traces of food from the vessels, wash (the vessels) with water, and take them to a clean (or pure) place to the north for Rudra. In this way, the home becomes auspicious (*śubham*) (again).’<sup>122</sup>

To clarify this, Tryambaka gives Haradatta’s commentary on the *sūtra*, interspersed with what seem to be comments of his own. The explanation runs as follows. ‘*Yatra* (implies *sthāne* and thus) means “in the place where food is eaten”. “One should sweep it up” means one should gather the left-overs in that place into a pile with a broom and take them elsewhere. When one has taken them out, one should sprinkle the area with water. After sprinkling it with water, then from those vessels, that is, those in which the cooking was done

121. *smṛtyarthasāre* ‘*pi* // *tato hastau sammr̥jya parisrāvyaṅguṣṭhābhyaṁ cakṣuṣor niṣicya cakṣuṣī spr̥tvāpa upaspṛṣyeṣṭadevatāṁ smaret* // *iti* // Sdhp. 18v.8–9 (Sm.A.) < Sm.A.p.69 (*āṅguṣṭhena* for *āṅguṣṭhābhyaṁ*; *niṣicyākṣini* for *niṣicya cakṣuṣī*; *spr̥tvāgnim* for *spr̥tvāpa*).

122. *tadanantarakṛtyam* āḥāpastambah // *yatra bhujyate tat samūhya nirhr̥tyāvokṣya tam deśam amatrebhyo lepān samkr̥ṣyādbhiḥ samsṛjyottarataḥ śucau deśe rudrāya ninayet / evam vāstu śubham bhavati* / Sdhp.18v.9–19r.1 (Āp.) < Āp.II.2.4.23, Pune edn. (*śivam* for *śubham*); Āp.II.2.4.24, Benares edn. (as Pune edn.).

at the time<sup>123</sup>—and on this subject (Tryambaka interjects), Amara declares that *bhānda*, *pātra*, *amatra* and *bhājana* all mean “container”<sup>124</sup>—from them one should scrape the “traces”, that is, the traces of food and condiments. Then one should wash (the vessels) with water. Then one should take (the vessels) to a clean place to the north, that is, of the house, saying “Let this be for Rudra;”<sup>125</sup> or (Tryambaka interjects), according to another work, saying “May homage be to Rudra.”<sup>126</sup> In this way, the home becomes auspicious (*śivam*), that is, it becomes prosperous. This is the meaning (of the *sūtrā*).<sup>127</sup>

Although neither Āpastamba nor Tryambaka specify that this process of cleaning up should be done by the wife or the women of the household, in the context of Tryambaka’s treatise this is the obvious interpretation. As Tryambaka explains below, washing up after the midday meal is one of the major domestic duties the wife must complete before sunset. The sprinkling of water in the place where food has been eaten indicates both a physical cleansing of the area and a ritual purification. Indeed, Vidyārnava warns that this cleansing of both the vessels used and the place of eating is essential for the ritual purity of all concerned: ‘for a man is not really purified so long as these are not cleansed’ (1979:165).

The wife’s final post-prandial duty is to prepare betel. Two unattributed *ślokas* explain. ‘After eating, while sitting at one’s

**123.** *atroj]valā // yatra sthāne bhujyate tat samūhya samūhanyā tatratyam ucchiṣṭādikarṇ samūhya samūhikṛtya nirhare anyatra / nirṛtya tam deśam avokṣet/ avokṣya tato 'matrebhyaḥ yesu kāle pākah kṛtah tāny amatrāṇi// Sdhp.19r.1–4 (Ujj.) < Ujj. on Āp.II.2.4.24, Benares edn. (rāśikṛtya for samūhya samūhikṛtya; anyataḥ for anyatra; avokṣat for avokṣet; kāle omitted).*

**124.** *tathā cāmarah// sarvam āvapanam bhāndam pātrāmatre ca bhājanam// iti // Sdhp.19r.4 (Amar.) < Amar.II.9.33.*

**125.** *tebhyo lepān vyañjanānnalepān samkṛṣyādbhiḥ samsṛjya grhasyot-tarataḥ śucau deśe rudrāyedam astv iti ninayet // Sdhp.19r.4–5 (Ujj.) < Ujj. on Āp.II.2.4.24, Benares edn. ('nnalepān vyañjanalepāṁś ca for lepān vyañjanānnalepān; saṅkṛṣya kāṣṭhādināvakṛṣya adbhiḥ samsṛjet for saṅkṛṣyādbhiḥ).*

**126.** *rudrāya namo 'stv iti kośāntaram // Sdhp.19r.5–6.*

**127.** *evam vāstu śivam bhavati samrddham bhavatīty arthaḥ// iti// Sdhp.19r.6 (Ujj.) < Ujj. on Āp.II.2.4.24, Benares edn. (evam kṛtam for evam; sarva-samrddham for samrddham; bhavati and arthaḥ omitted).*

ease, (one should prepare) something cleansing for the mouth using betel, and something cleansing (for the system) using one of the essential ingredients such as the *śunṭhī* root or the *āmalaka* fruit. Then one should offer a good areca nut and a good leaf with powdered lime on it to the brahmins (i.e. guests) and to the gods; and after that one may chew betel (oneself).<sup>128</sup> In a medical context, *śodhana* (translated here as ‘something cleansing’) denotes medicine that removes bad humours (Meulenbeld 1974:511). In particular, *śunṭhī* (usually translated as ‘dried ginger’<sup>129</sup>) and betel are taken to stimulate the digestion (Meulenbeld 1974:462–3; 474–5). Since it is the wife’s duty to prepare all the items necessary for the gods in the *devapūjā* ritual (including food and betel), and to prepare food for and serve her husband, his guests and family, we may assume that it is also her job to prepare and serve the items for refreshment and digestion after the meal (cf. Sinha 1980:126–7). We should also note, however, that since the use of betel is also deemed to make a woman attractive (see section II A, pp. 96–7), it is forbidden to the menstruating woman, the woman whose husband is away, and the widow (see section IV, pp. 284–5, 291, 299–300).

According to Dakṣa, one should spend the rest of the afternoon (i.e. the sixth and seventh parts of an eightfold day) allowing one’s meal to digest while listening to recitals of the epics and *purāṇas* (Dakṣa II.61–9; cf. pp.45–9). According to Yājñ.I.113, the rest of the day (*ahahśeṣam*; i.e. until sunset) should be spent in the company of learned men (*śistaiḥ*; glossed by Mit. as *itihāsapurāṇā-divedibih*), those one likes (*iṣṭaiḥ*; glossed by Mit. as *kāvyakathā-prapañcacaturaiḥ*, ‘those skilled in acting out scenes from drama and narrative’), and one’s own relatives. It seems clear from Bāṇa’s account in the *Kādambarī*, for example, that these pleasures were also available to royal or court women such as queen Vilāsavatī (*anavaratavācyamānāḥ punyakathāḥ śuśrāva*; Kād.p.135). As I have suggested in my introduction, perhaps Tryambaka’s

128. *bhuktvā tu sukham āśinam tāmbūlenāsyā śodhanam / śunṭhyāmalaka-dhātūnām ekenātha viśodhanam // supūgam ca supatram ca cūmena ca samanvitam / pradadyāt dvijadevebhyaś tāmvūlām carvayet tataḥ // iii // Sdhp. 19r.6–9 (ca varjayet amended to carvayet) < ?*

129. According to Sanjukta Gupta, *śunṭhī* is a sharp hot root of another family altogether, and is given (especially to children) for colds and coughs (personal communication).

own treatise was intended to be read aloud to the court women and expounded upon during this afternoon siesta (see pp.22-3, 49). Tryambaka, however, mentions no such activity. Instead, he lists all the household tasks that the wife should dispatch before sunset.

'Cleaning the house (a second time), washing the pots (after the midday meal), and gathering together all the paraphernalia (required for the evening rituals)--these tasks should definitely be done before sunset because they are necessary for the *vaiśvadeva*, *atithi* and other rituals which should be performed in the evening. But the pounding of rice should not be done at sunset (a second time).'<sup>130</sup> Tryambaka quotes a *śloka* attributed to the *Mārkandeyapurāṇa*. 'If a woman in her ignorance cleans rice and so on when the sun has set, she will be barren in life after life.'<sup>131</sup> On the other hand, also according to the *Mārkandeyapurāṇa*, 'it is wrong not to clean the house in the evening: if a woman fails to do the cleaning at sunset, she will be without husband and property in life after life.'<sup>132</sup>

Despite the apparent confusion about the timing of these tasks, there seem to be two points. First, the preparation of rice (cleaning, pounding, etc.) should be done only once a day, before dawn. Secondly, other household tasks such as sweeping and cleaning the house, should be done both morning (i.e. before dawn) and evening (i.e. before sunset). Similarly, the washing of pots and pans after the midday meal and the preparations for the evening ritual should all be completed before sunset. In this way, both home and wife will be in a fit state for the evening ritual and the evening meal. As we shall see, the preparations for the evening rituals presuppose the preparation of food as well.

130. *rātrau kartavyavaiśvadevātithipūjanādyupayogitayā gr̥hasammārjanabhāṇḍuprakṣalanasāmagrīsampādanādikam samdhyaṅkālāt pūrvam eva kartavyam // vrīhyavahananam tu samdhyaṅkāle na kartavyam //* Sdhp.19r.9-19v.1.

131. *tathā ca mārkandeyapurāṇe // samdhyaṅkāle tu samprāpte dhānyasamskarānādikam / kurute yā tu mohena vandhyā janmani [janmani] //* Sdhp.19v.1-2 (Mārk.P.) < ?

132. *sāyam kāle gr̥hasammārjanākarane dosa ukto mārkandeyapurāṇe // samdhyaṅkāle tu samprāpte mārjanam na karoti yā / bhartrhīnā bhavet sā tu ni[h]svā janmani janmani // iti //* Sdhp.19v.2-4 (Mārk.P.) < ?

## IID Evening (Sdhp. 19v.4–21r.3)

The considerably shorter section relating to the wife's duties in the evening may be divided into two main groups. First, Tryambaka deals briefly with the evening equivalents of morning rituals and tasks: the evening *agnihotra*, paying respect to one's elders, the *vaiśvadeva* ritual and *bali* offerings, paying homage to guests, and the evening meal (Sdhp.19v.4–20r.4). Secondly, he gives several rulings regarding sexual intercourse at night (*śayanam*; Sdhp. 20r.4–21r.2).

On the question of whether the wife need be present at the evening *agnihotra* ritual as well as at the morning one, opinions differ. Tryambaka explains that, according to Baudhāyana, 'the wife's presence at the evening ritual is necessary.'<sup>1</sup> The first part of the *sūtra* quoted is also given in Tryambaka's section on the morning fire ritual (section IIB, p.130, note 26). 'The chief wife (*patnī*) should be present at the evening and the morning (sacrifice).' The rest of the *sūtra* adds that 'some say (she should be present) every evening.' Tryambaka concludes that 'in that case, there would be no rule (requiring the *patnī*'s presence) for the morning (ritual).'<sup>2</sup>

The second ritual duty to be performed by the wife each evening is that of paying respect to her elders (cf. section IIC, pp.156–68). According to the *Smṛtiratna*, 'such things as paying respect to one's elders and homage to guests should be done (in the evening) as (they are) in the morning.'<sup>3</sup> The quotation is given in the masculine. '(In the evening) as in the morning (lit. daytime), one who has performed the fire ritual, paid homage to his elders and, according to his resources, offered hospitality to guests may perform the *vaiśvadeva* and *bali* rituals and then eat.'<sup>4</sup>

1. *sāyamagnihotrasamaye patnīsannidhānasyāvaśyakatām āha bodhāyanah* // Sdhp.19v.4–5.

2. *sāyamprātar evaisā patny anvāste* // *sāyamsāyam ity eke* // (< Baudh. Śr.III.4.p.72) *iti/ ata eva prātar aniyama iti//* Sdhp.19v.5. Cf. section IIB, note 26.

3. *tato gurunamaskārātithyādikam divāvat kartavyam ity uktam smṛtitratne* // Sdhp.19v.5–6.

4. *hutāgnir vanditaguruḥ kṛtātithyaś ca śaktitāḥ / vaiśvadevabaliṁ cāpi*

Tryambaka continues. 'The cooking for the *vaiśvadeva* ritual should also be done in the evening (a second time).' The quotation that follows is attributed to Viṣṇu. 'O king, in the evening as well (as in the morning), one should take freshly cooked food and, together with one's wife, make *bali* offerings at the time of the *vaiśvadeva* ritual.'<sup>5</sup> The quotation is precisely as given in both the *Parāśaramādhavīya* and the *Smṛticandrikā*. In the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, however, which all three claim to quote, it is the *patnī* who should take the freshly cooked food and make the *bali* offerings, but without mantras (*patnyā amantram*). Tryambaka makes this point next, with an important proviso. 'In the evening (lit. "at night"), if the husband is not there, the *vaiśvadeva* and *bali* offerings may also be performed by the *patnī*, but without mantras.'<sup>6</sup> He quotes Manu. 'The *patnī* should make the *bali* offering using food prepared in the evening, without mantras.'<sup>7</sup> But neither Manu nor his commentators stipulate that the husband should be away before this ruling comes into effect. The second half of Manu's *śloka* merely explains that the *vaiśvadeva* ritual, and therefore the *bali* offerings too, are prescribed for both morning and evening. According to Tryambaka, however, the *patnī* may only substitute for her husband when the latter is away; otherwise she should assist as usual. Either way, she should prepare fresh food for the evening ritual.

Tryambaka next deals with the ritual hospitality to guests which, according to the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, should be observed before the evening meal as well as before the midday one (cf. section II C, pp.183–210). In fact, the ritual is of even greater importance in the

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*kṛtvāśniyād yathā divā // iti // Sdhp.19v.6–7 (Smṛtitratna) < Sm.M.II.p.455*  
*(vaiśvadevarṇ for vaiśvadeva<sup>o</sup>; yathāvidhi for yathā divā, the latter given as variant; Smṛtitratna).*

5. *sāyam* vaiśvadevārtham pākam āha viṣṇuh // punah pākam upādāya sāyam  
*apy avanīpate / vaiśvadevanimittam* vai patnyā sārdham balīm haret // iti //  
*Sdhp.19v.8–9 (Viṣṇu) < Par.M.I.i.p.439 (Viṣ.P.); Sm.C.II.p.627 (Viṣ.P.);*  
*Sm.M.II.p.455 (Viṣ.P.); Viṣ.P.III.11.102 (patnyā amantram for patnyā sārdham).*

6. rātrau vaiśvadevalidānam patyasannidhāne patnyāpy amantram kartavyam // Sdhp. 19v.9–10.

7. tatra manuh // sāyam siddhasya cānnasya patnyamantram balīm haret //  
*iti // Sdhp.19v.10 (patnyāmantram amended to patnyamantram; Manu) <*  
*Manu III.121a (tv annasya siddhasya for siddhasya cānnasya); Kūrm.P.II.18.*  
*109a (cānnasya siddhasya).*

evening than at midday. The quotation reads as follows. ‘The wise man should honour any guest who comes (to his house) according to his own resources. He should bid him welcome, O Pārthiva, and honour him, bowing down as he offers him water to wash his feet and a seat, and then (he should honour him) by offering food and a bed. O king, whatever sin accrues to men when a daytime guest turns his back and leaves (unfed), that same (sin) increases eight-fold when he turns his back and leaves (unfed) once the sun has set.’<sup>8</sup> The idea that the evening meal is of greater ritual importance than the midday meal no doubt follows from the fact that the evening *agnihotra* is the primary part of the twofold fire ritual, cf. *agniśūṣrūṣa*; section II.B, pp.102–7). On the practical level, of course, it is also harsher to turn a stranger away at night.

Finally, Tryambaka considers the evening meal itself. According to Sāṇḍilya, ‘the householder should eat at night that which is beneficial, wholesome and very satisfying’.<sup>9</sup> Clearly, Tryambaka’s treatment of evening rituals and duties tells us little more than that these activities should be performed in the evening much as they are in the morning or at midday.

Tryambaka begins his subsection on going to bed (*śayanam*) with a quotation from the *Smṛtyarthasāra*. ‘After performing the *vaiśvadeva* oblation (*homa*) and offering hospitality to guests, after eating a light meal surrounded by one’s dependants, then, making (full) use of sweet-smelling unguents, garlands, betel and so on, one

8. *tadānīm atithipūjoktavisiṇupurāne // atithim cāgatam tatra svaśaktyā pūjayed budhaḥ // pādaśaucāsanaprahvah svāgatoktyā ca pūjayed / tataś cānnapradānena śayanena ca pārthiva // dinātithau ca vimukhe gate yat pātakam nrpa / tu evāśtaguṇam pumśām sūryodhe vimukhe gate // iti // Sdhp.20r.1–3 (Viś.P.) < Viś.P.III.11.103b–105 (pūjanam for pūjayed; tu vimukhe for ca vimukhe); Par.M.I.i.p.440 (verses 102b,104; 1 MS has v.103; divātithau for dinātithau); Sm.M.II.p.456 (bhojayed for pūjayed; °āsanah prahvah for °āsanaprahvah; divātithau tu for dinātithau ca; Viś.P.).*

9. *tato bhojavam āha sāṇḍilyah // naktam kuṭumbako 'śnīyād dhitam pathyam surptimat // iti // Sdhp.20r.4 (Sāṇḍilya)< Sm.M.II.p.455 (kuṭumbiko for kutumbako; Sāṇḍilya).*

10. *smṛtyarthasāre // homam vaiśvadevam ātithyam ca kṛtvā bhṛtyaiḥ parivṛto laghu bhuktivā striyā saha sugandhānulepanamālyatāmbulādi sevamānah svapet // iti // Sdhp.20r.4–6 (Sm.A.) < Sm.M.II.p.457 (bhūtyaiḥ for bhṛtyaiḥ; sevamānam for sevamānah; Sm.A.); Sm.A.p.70 (ātithyarcanam*

should sleep with one's wife.<sup>10</sup> The Pune edition of the *Smṛtyarthaśāra* emphasizes that a man should sleep with his own wife (*svastriyā saha*). The statement that a man should eat 'surrounded by his dependants' seems somewhat at odds with the rulings mentioned earlier concerning the ritual importance of privacy at meals or at least of eating only with those of similar rank (section II C, pp.214–17). We must therefore assume the formal separation of diners by, for example, powder designs on the ground between them (cf. *ekapārīkti*; p.221).

Tryambaka gives the ruling for the wife. 'Only after she has paid homage (*namaskṛtya*) to her husband's feet may she go to bed.'<sup>11</sup> This statement is supported by a *śloka* attributed to Vyāsa. 'After paying homage to her husband's feet, she should go to bed. Treating her beloved in a way that gives him pleasure (*āhlādasamyuktam kṛtvā*), she should engage in sexual intercourse (*samyogam ācaret*; i.e. she should make love to him).'<sup>12</sup>

This ruling, with its emphasis on the initiative of the wife, recalls the view mentioned earlier that the ideal woman is all things to her husband: mother, sister, friend, slave and lover (pp.213–14). In fact, according to the writers of manuals on sexual love, the women of Maharashtra were considered especially proficient in the erotic arts and prepared to take the initiative themselves (*sakalacatuḥṣaṣṭiprayogarāginyah*; Kām.II.5.29). There is, of course, the common (male) belief that the sexuality of women is greater than that of men and their need for intercourse consequently more imperative (e.g. Carstairs 1971:73). The negative consequences of this are discussed at some length in section III (pp.246–72) on the inherent nature of women. According to the theorists, wives are of three basic kinds: very young and therefore extremely shy in sexual matters (*mugdhā*, 'artless'; *navodhā*, 'newly married'; Randhawa 1962: plate II); somewhat more advanced and less inhibited (*madhyamā* or *madhyā*); and, best of all, the mature wife who is confident of her own sexuality (*praudhā*;

for *ātithyam ca*; *bhuñjīta* for *laghu bhuktvā*; *tataḥ svastriyā* for *striyā*; *sugandhalepanatāmbūlādi* for *sugandhīnulepanamālyatāmbūlādi*).

11. *bhartuh pādau namaskṛtyaiva śayanam kartavyam // Sdhp.20r.6.*

12. *tathā ca vyāsaḥ // pādau bhartu[r] namaskṛtya paścāc chayyām samāvišet // priyam āhlādasamyuktam kṛtvā samyogam ācaret // iti // Sdhp.20r.6–7 (Vyāsa) <?*

Randhawa 1962: plate III; Bahadur 1972: 26ff.). In his section on general behaviour, Tryambaka himself advocates a bold confidence in sexual matters (*prāgalbhyaṁ kāmakāryeṣu*, Sdhp. 22v.4; section IV, pp.273–4; cf. plates 12, 13).

Following the scribal notations on MS T<sub>1</sub>, I shall take the Baudhāyana quotation next. It describes the scene from the husband's point of view. 'Then he should take her into a beautiful room that has been well washed and smeared with cow-dung; (a room that is) perfumed, decked with flowers, incense, lights and a bed; a place where they will not be disturbed; (one that is) illuminated in the (four) directions by means of wicks placed in ghee; (one that has) above (the head of the bed) a jar of water and a mirror. In such a place, he should make love to her.'<sup>13</sup>

Paintings depicting the scene show most of the items listed here. For example, one of the many classifications of women includes the wife who expects her husband or lover to return at any moment and who waits at the door with the bed prepared (*vāsakasajjā*; Bahadur 1972:114). The paintings show a private room carefully arranged with a bed and cushions (Randhawa 1962; figs.36,37,39), garlands of flowers (figs.37,39), lighted candles in each of the four directions (fig.39, plate XIII), containers for such things as sandalwood paste, perfumed unguents and betel (figs.36,39), and a water-pot at the head of the bed (figs.36,39; cf. Sm.M.II.p.457; Sm.C.II.p.629). In particular, sandalwood paste is used to cool and perfume the body, betel to sweeten the breath (cf. section IIA, pp.96–7). Scenes showing the delights of love-making (*samyoga*) also record many of the items prescribed by Baudhāyana (e.g. Randhawa 1962: fig.76; plates III,IV,XIX). In the *Kāmasūtra* too, such a 'pleasure room' (*ratyāvāsa*) is described as decked with flowers and fragrant with perfumes (Kām.II.10.1). The mirror is a frequent addition to such scenes, either as an essential part of the toilet of either husband or wife (Randhawa 1962:45, figs.14,28,49, plate X; Sinha 1980:123) or as a means of intensifying the experience of sexual union (Randhawa 1962:29, fig.6). Although Baudhāyana does not say so, it would presumably be the wife's job to prepare

13. *bodhāyanah* // *atha śrīmantam agāram samīrstopaliptam gandhavantam puspavantam dhūpavantam dīpavantam talpavantam samādhivāsam dīksu·sarpiḥsūtrendhanapradyotitam udakumbhādarśocchirasam prapādya tasminn enām samveṣya* // *iti* // Sdhp.20r.9–20v.1 (Baudh.; PT amends *samveṣya* to *samveṣayet*) < Baudh.gr.I.6.22 ( . . . *samveṣya tasyā antike japatī*).

the room and to gather the items required for love-making (as she does those for image worship; see section II C, pp.178–80, notes 34–5).

To avoid repetition, I have extended the passage transposed by the scribe of MS T<sub>1</sub> to include the following two *sūtras*, also attributed to Baudhāyana. The first, attributed to the *Baudhāyanagrhyaparibhāṣāsūtra*, describes the preliminaries to love-making. ‘Then, when the sun has set, they adorn each other and lie down on the bed. Then he decks her with a garland (full) of all kinds of sweet fragrances.’<sup>14</sup> According to the second *sūtra*, attributed to the *Baudhāyanagrhyasēśasūtra*, ‘the husband should make love to (his wife) in the first half of the night; and from midnight to the *brāhmamuhūrtā* (see section II A, pp.51–2). sleeping on a low bed (or on the ground; *adhahśayanam*) (is enjoined).’<sup>15</sup>

It is not clear whether the last of these rulings applies to both husband and wife or only to the wife. Judging by the many paintings depicting the place of love-making, a raised bed was common among the wealthier classes (Randhawa 1962: plates XIX, III; figs. 21, 37, 39). Tryambaka himself alludes to such a bed in his section on women’s property. For the items that Sītā gives away before her departure into the forest include ‘a raised bed studded with jewels and covered with luxurious cushions’ (*paryāṅkam agryāstaranam nānāratnavibhūsitam*, Sdhp.26[3]v.4–5; from section IV, pp.277–80). The term *paryāṅka* denotes a particularly fine wooden four-poster (e.g. Sinha 1980:43, 61, 151, 159). Such a bed is typical of wealthy or princely families, and examples may still be found in Indian palaces today. According to Tryambaka, neither the menstruating woman nor the widow is permitted to sleep on such a bed (see section IV, pp.284–5, 299–300).

It seems unlikely that, after making love, both husband and wife would descend to the floor to sleep (cf. Randhawa 1962: plate III, depicting the entwined couple in what appears to be post-coital sleep, still on their raised bed). Perhaps Tryambaka’s intention is

14. *bodhāyanaparibhāṣāyām // athāstam ita āditye 'nyonyam alāṅkṛtyopari śayyāyām śayāte / athainām sarvasurabhigandhamālyā yunakti // iti // Sdhp. 20v.1–3 (bodhāyanaparibhāṣāyām < ?)*

15. *tac cheṣe bodhāyanah // tasyāḥ saha patyā pūrvarātrāv upasamveśanam / ardharātrād adhahśayanam ā brāhmamuhūrtād // iti // Sdhp.20v. 3–4 (seṣe bodhāyanah) < ?*

that the wife should leave her husband to sleep on the bed while she resorts to a mat on the floor. It is certainly customary in some rural areas today (e.g. in western Rajasthan) for the husband to sleep on a raised bed while his wife and family sleep on the floor (or on a low bed; cf. Chaki-Sircar 1984:98). In fact, the practice was fairly common among traditional families in Maharashtra earlier this century (LSJ). Moreover, *dharmaśāstra* rulings specify that the couple should only lie together during sexual intercourse (*yāvat saṃnipātam caiva sahaśayyā*; Āp.II.1.1.21); once that is over, they should sleep separately (*tato nānā*, Āp.II.1.1.22; *tataḥ prthak śayīyātām*, Ujj., Benares edn.) and bathe (Āp.II.1.1.23; II.1.2.1; Gaut.I.9.25; Manu V.144).

Back in sequence once more, Tryambaka's next point is that 'she (the wife) should not sleep naked'.<sup>16</sup> The subsequent quotation is attributed to Manu. 'They should make love, the man having removed his clothes, the woman without removing hers; if both remove their clothes, discord will enter (into them).'<sup>17</sup>

This seems a surprising ruling, especially in view of the obvious nakedness of the woman in some of the paintings extolling sexual love (e.g. Plates 12, 13; cf. Randhawa 1962: plate III; Sinha 1980: 43, 45, 49, 51, etc.). It is also at odds with the ruling below that she should not keep her blouse on. Perhaps what is meant here is that, if she removes her clothes to make love, she should dress again to sleep. Āsv.gr.III.9.6, for example, rules that a man should not look at a naked woman except during sexual intercourse (*na nagnām striyam iks̄etānyatra maithunāt*). Certainly, it is customary for women even today to sleep in their saris. It was also the custom, especially in middle-class homes a generation or two ago, for the wife to wash and put on a clean sari after making love. (As a result, children amused themselves by noting whether the sari worn on emerging from the bedroom in the morning was the same as that worn on disappearing into it at night; LSJ.) However, although Tryambaka's own words may be interpreted in this way, the *śloka* he quotes may not. With regard to men, although (according to Tryambaka) they may remove their clothes for love-making, they too should not sleep naked

16. *śayanam ca nagnayā na kartavyam* // Sdhp.20r. 7–8.

17. *tathā ca manuh* // *amuktavasanā yośid vimuktavasanāḥ pumān / samviśetām ubhau muktavasanā kalir āviśet iti* // Sdhp.20r.8–9 (Manu) < ? Not in N.S. edn. of Manu.

(Āśv.gr.III.9.6; Gaut.I.9.60; Manu IV.75; Viś.Sm.70.3; Sm.A. p. 70).

A series of *ślokas* attributed to Vyāsa follow. Tryambaka introduces them by emphasizing the first ruling given. ‘Sexual intercourse with one’s husband should not be performed with wet feet.’<sup>18</sup> The relevant *śloka* reads as follows. ‘If a woman makes love with her husband when her feet are wet, she deprives her husband of long life and goes to hell herself.’<sup>19</sup> This ruling is applied elsewhere to men as well as women. Manu VI.76, for example, rules that one should eat with one’s feet still wet (i.e. from the purificatory sprinkling: *ādrapādas tu bhuñjīta*; cf. Viś.Sm.68.34) but one should not make love with wet feet (*nārdrapādas tu samviṣet*). ‘Make love’ (*saṃviṣet*) is glossed by the commentators as ‘sleep’ (*śayīta*, Sarv.; *supyāt*, Kull.; cf. *nārdrapādah supyāt*, Viś.Sm.70.1; Sm.A.p.70, etc.). However, paintings of Rādhā having her wet feet dried by a maid-servant (e.g. Randhawa 1962: plate X) are obviously more piquant if the first meaning is assumed. On these grounds, I suspect that the young bride described by Sinha (1980:123) as having her feet massaged is in fact having her wet feet properly dried.

The next two *ślokas* (also attributed to Vyāsa) return to the subject of the wife’s attire. ‘If a woman makes love with her husband while wearing a bodice, she will certainly be a widow in three years or even sooner. If a woman (*dayitā*; lit. “beloved”) makes love with the “palm-leaf” type of earrings (*tālapattra*) dangling from her ears, she will be a widow in this life within five or seven years.’<sup>20</sup>

The reasons for both rulings seem self-evident. Regarding the first, we may recall the earlier requirement that a woman should always cover her breasts (section II A, p.90, note 69). The rule that she should remove her bodice for love-making reinforces the idea that women of this class usually wore bodices in public. In Tryambaka’s circles at least, it seems that a woman’s naked breasts

18. *ādrapādayā bhartṛsaṅgo na kartavyaḥ* // Sdhp.20v.4.

19. *tathā ca vyāsaḥ* // *ādrapādā ca yā nārī bhartṛsaṅgam samācaren / āyusyam harate bhartūḥ sā nārī narakanī vrajet* // Sdhp.20v.4–6 (Vyāsa) < ?

20. *kañcukena suman nārī bhartṛsaṅgam samācaren / tribhir varṣaiś ca madhye vā vidhvā bhavati dhruvam* // *tālapattragalatkarnī dayitā maithunam vrajet pañcame saptame varṣe vaidhavyam iha jāyate* // Sdhp.20v.6–8 (tālā-patra ° amended to tālapattra °; Vyāsa) < ?

were more likely to be associated with sexual intimacy than with fashion or custom.

A glance through paintings depicting high-class men and women will demonstrate their fondness for ornaments. Women in particular wore elaborate earrings, nose-rings and hair ornaments (e.g. Randhawa 1962: plates VII, XI, figs.11,68; cf. *Śāhendravilāsa* V. 33–42, VI.216). Even the naked woman pictured in her husband's embrace wears a mass of jewellery at her wrists, ankle and throat, in her nose and ears, and on her forehead (e.g. plates 12, 13; cf. Randhawa 1962: plate III). The 'palm-leaf' earring — also mentioned in the *Kādambarī* (Kād. II.28; MW 1976:445) — is evidently a particularly large, pendent ornament that might impede the intimacy of lovers.

The next *śloka* (also attributed to Vyāsa) deals with the lifting of certain important prohibitions for the duration of love-making. 'Allowing one's body to touch (lit. "cling to") the (other's) feet, (eating the other's) left-overs (*ucchiṣṭam*), blows, anger, rage and reproaches—in love-making, none of these is wrong.'<sup>21</sup>

As explained earlier, touching someone's feet is a formal gesture made by an inferior to his or her superior (*gurūṇām abhvādanam*: section IIIC, pp.157–60). While it is proper for a wife to touch her husband's feet, therefore, the reverse is unthinkable except in the special context of love-making. Lifting this prohibition makes all kinds of intimacies possible: from the man throwing himself at the woman's feet in an extravagant gesture of adulation (*pādapatanam*, Kām.III.2.11; cf. Upadhyaya 1981: plate XXVIII) to a variety of otherwise impossible positions for sexual intercourse (Kām.II.6.1 ff.). Paintings even show the woman touching the man's head with her foot as a form of rebuke if, for example, he mentions another woman's name (Upadhyaya 1961: plate XLIIa; Sinha 1980:91).

Similarly, eating the left-overs of someone else's meal (*ucchiṣṭam*) is a sign of one's own humility in relation to that other person. Again, while it is proper for the wife to eat her husband's left-overs, the reverse is normally condemned (cf. pp.221–7). Lifting this prohibition allows not only eating from the same dish (as at the time of marriage) but also the intimacies of drinking wine or taking food directly from the lover's mouth (e.g. *vadanena tāmbūladānam*; Kām.III.2.12).

21. *pādalagnatanuś caiva hy ucchiṣṭam tādanam tathā / kopah krodhāś ca*  
*nirbhartsā samyogesu na doṣakṛt / Sdhp.20v.8–9 (Vyāsa) < ?*

With regard to physical blows, it is generally agreed that a husband may beat his wife if she has done something wrong (e.g. Manu VIII.299–300; but not on the head or chest, Medh. and Kull. on Manu VIII.300). The reverse is inconceivable. In contrast, a woman must control her thoughts, words and actions (*manovāgdehasam-yatā*, Manu V.165,166; cf. Gaut.I.9.3; Yājñ.I.87). She should never answer back even when she is scolded (*ākrusīāpi na cākrośet*) nor show her anger or resentment even when she is beaten (*tāditāpi prasīduti*, Sdhp.23r.4–5, from section IV, pp.273–4; cf. Sk.P.III. 2.7.18) or if her husband takes another wife (Manu IX.83). In love-making, such prohibitions are swept aside. As a result, the manuals on the art of love have produced detailed classifications of the permitted types of scratching (Kām.II.4), biting (Kām.II.5) and striking (Kām.II.7). Sexual intercourse becomes an erotic 'quarrel'; striking one's partner a sign of passion. Vātsyāyana's description of 'love quarrels' (*pranayakalaha*) is to the point: when a woman is (or pretends to be) jealous, a great quarrel arises; she cries, becomes angry, strikes her lover, pulls his hair, kicks him repeatedly on his arms, head, chest and back, and rebukes him with harsh and reproachful words (Kām.II.10.40–6). Indeed, it is said that lovers in the throes of passion are impervious to pain (Kām.II.7.1ff.). These elements are frequently recorded in poetry and art. For example, the eight types of lady-love (*nāyikā*) include the woman who, having quarrelled with her lover, sends him away (*abhisandhitā* or *kala-hāntaritā*; cf. Randhawa 1962: fig.40); and the one who reproaches her lover bitterly for sleeping with another woman (*khaṇḍitā*; cf. Randhawa 1962: fig.42). Tryambaka's point is that such behaviour, normally forbidden to the good and submissive wife, is acceptable in the privacy of making love.

The next *śloka*, also attributed to Vyāsa, reads as follows. '*Kunkuma*, collyrium, *haldi* power (*haridrā*) and sandalwood paste, clean clothes and betel—each brings happiness (and is therefore auspicious) in love-making.'<sup>22</sup> The ointments, powders and pastes—all mentioned in Tryambaka's section on getting dressed in the morning (IIA, pp.96–7), constitute the signs of the happily married woman. Clearly, the ideal wife will be as carefully dressed and perfumed for the evening as she is at the beginning of the day (see plates 2–5).

22. *kuṇkumam cāñjanam caiva tathā haridrācandane / dhautavastram ca tāmbūlam samyogesu śubhāvaham // iti // Sdhp.20v.9–10 (Vyāsa) < ?*

According to Vātsyāyana, she will come to the ‘pleasure room’ freshly bathed and dressed (Kām.II.10.1). After they have made love, they will each go separately to wash, returning to chew betel together and to apply ointments to each other’s bodies (Kām.II.10.13–14).

Tryambaka’s last point, both in this section and in his treatment of daily duties as a whole, is to lift one more prohibition for the purpose of love-making. ‘There is nothing wrong in wearing dark blue (*nīla*) clothes when making love.’<sup>23</sup>

This relates to a prohibition that is normally couched in the masculine and therefore apparently applies to men. As I have already shown in the section on getting dressed, the male *snātaka* is repeatedly enjoined to wear white garments and not dyed ones (*raktam*, Gaut.I.9.5; *sarvān rāgān vāsasi*, Āp.I.11.30.10). Āp.I.11.30.11 also prohibits cloth that is naturally black (*kṛṣṇam ca svābhāvikam*; such as *kambala*, a kind of woollen cloth, Ujj.). Dark blue cloth, that is, cloth dyed with indigo (*nīlam*, *nīliraktam*) is both specified for *śūdras* and forbidden to higher *varṇas* (see section II A, p.89).

Tryambaka’s quotation is attributed to Āpastamba. ‘If a brahmin puts on his body a garment that has been dyed dark blue, he must sit day and night (without eating) and then purify himself by (drinking) *pañcagavya*.<sup>24</sup> The purifying properties of *pañcagavya* are discussed in section II A (pp.59–60). A later *śloka* from the *Āpastambasmṛti*, not given by Tryambaka, adds that if one sits down to eat while wearing blue garments, one must undergo the *cāndrāyanā* fast (Āp.Sm.VI.8). Tryambaka merely gives the exception. ‘There is no sin attached to women (wearing dark blue garments) in bed during love-making just for fun.’<sup>25</sup>

This suggests that the prohibition regarding dark blue clothes normally applies to both men and women but, for women, it no longer applies during love-making. Certainly, women are portrayed in both poetry and art wearing dark blue as they emerge from the

23. *upabhogasamaye nīlavastradhāraṇam na dosādhāyakam*, Sdhp.20v.10.

24. *tathā cāpastambah // nīliraktam yadā vastram brāhmaṇo ḫgesu dhārayet / ahorātrōṣito bhūtvā pañcagavyena śudhyati //* Sdhp.20v.10–21r.2 (Āp.) < Āp.Sm.VI.4; Mit. on Yājñ.III.292, p.500; Apar.p.1186; Ang.35 (*vipro dehesu* for *brāhmaṇo ḫgesu*).

25. *strīnām kṛidārthaśaṁbhoge ṣayanīye na duṣyati // iti //* Sdhp.21r.2 (Āp.) < Āp.Sm.VI.1b; Mit. on Yājñ.III.292; Apar.p.1186; Ang.32b.

bedroom in the morning (e.g. Randhawa 1962:186, plate XX, cf. plate III). The associations attached to the colour presumably reinforce the intimacy of the scene. The idea that this same sari should not be worn during the day recalls a similar rule for men in the *Āpastambadharmaśūtra*: one should come together (for sexual intercourse) when wearing a garment (reserved) for (making love to) women (*strīvāsasaiva samnipātah syāt*, Āp.II.1.1.20; glossed by Ujj. as *stryupabhogārtham vāsah*; by Sm.M.I.p.77 as *strīsam-yogārthavāsasā*). As the *Ujjvalā* explains, the issue here is that one should wear the right thing at the right time (*evakāro bhinnakramah*). Thus one should not wear the garment one makes love in when performing sacrificial ritual and so on during the day (*na tena . . . brahmayajñādi kṛtyam*). In principle, this ruling would seem to apply to women as well as men.

Having produced rulings for almost every activity in a woman's day, from the moment she wakes in the morning to the garments she should wear at night, Tryambaka finally brings this lengthy and detailed section to a close. 'These are the daily duties (of women).'<sup>26</sup>

26. ity āhnikadharmaḥ // Sdhp.21r.2-3.

### III. The Inherent Nature of Women (*strīsvabhāvah*; Sdhp.21r.3–22r.8)<sup>1</sup>

After instructing the virtuous wife on her duties throughout the day, Tryambaka turns to face the objection most likely to undermine his whole project. The problem is simple but devastating. If women are inherently wicked, as they are traditionally supposed to be, then how can they possibly have any interest in learning what Tryambaka is at such pains to teach them? Why does he bother to teach women at all? Tryambaka puts this question in the form of a *pūrvapakṣa*. The problem is (*namu*), how can there be any (real) inclination towards receiving religious instruction (*‘dharmāśravane*) as described (by me above) on the part of women who are by nature corrupted (*svabhāvato duṣṭānām strīnām*)? For the inherent faults of women (*strīnām svabhāvikadosāḥ*) are widely recognized.<sup>2</sup>

Tryambaka does not spell out the traditional argument for the inherent sinfulness of women; but it is clearly assumed. In his section on *snāna*, for example, he rules that twice-born men should perform the bathing ritual with mantras (*mantravat*), *sūdras* and women without (*tūṣṇīm*; section IIA, p.83, note 60; cf. Manu II. 66–7, IX.18; Yājñ.I.13; Baudh.I.5.11.7, II.2.3.46). Since being born a woman or a *sūdra* is the result of particular sins in a previous birth,<sup>3</sup> the mere fact of femaleness is seen as the proof of sin. Being sinful, a woman is *amantravat*; being *amantravat*, she cannot purify herself of sin; she therefore remains sinful all her life. It is quite logical, therefore, to attribute all manner of innate unpleasantness to women.

The Jaina explanation for why the nineteenth Tīrthaṅkara was born a woman (Malli) makes this graphically clear. In her previous life, Malli was a king who, together with his friends, renounced the

1. An earlier version of this section, entitled ‘*Strīsvabhāva*: The Inherent Nature of Women’, is included in *Oxford University Papers on India*, Vol. I, part I, edited by N.J. Allen et al., Delhi (O.U.P. 1986). This in turn formed the basis of the much briefer paper of the same title delivered at the Sixth World Sanskrit Conference, Philadelphia, 13–20 October 1984.

2. *namu svabhāvato duṣṭānām strīnām nirūpitadharmaśravane ca katham pravṛttih // strīnām svabhāvikadosāḥ ca bahulam avagamyante//* Sdhp.21r.3–4.

3. *śubhakṛcchubhayoniṣu pāpakṛtpāpayoniṣu/ upapadyati dharmajñu yathā dharmam yathāgamam//* Mbh.XIII.120.9. Cf. Manu XII.3.9.

world. They agreed to undertake the same number of fasts, but the king cheated (by claiming ill health, etc.) and so outdid his friends in austerity. Since he was otherwise without fault, he was reborn a Tīrthaṅkara; since he had cheated, he was reborn a woman. Such faults as cheating, deviousness, greed and cunning are widely agreed to be the cause of a female birth (cf. *Jñātṛdharmakathāśūtra* viii; cited Jaini 1979:39–40, note 93).

More commonly, however, an individual retains his or her gender in transmigration. For example, threats involving rebirth at a lower level in the hierarchy of births always specify a female animal for a female offender (e.g. section IIC, p.226, note 114; Sdhp.39v.10–40r.1, from section IV, p.288; Manu XII,72, etc.). In similes (in *kāvya*, etc.), it is also unusual to cross gender. Two conclusions may be drawn. First, since sinfulness is the mark of a female birth, the female of the species is always lower than the male. Secondly, so deeply ingrained is this sinfulness that it is more difficult for a female to be reborn as a male than it is for an animal to be reborn as a human. This is the scale of Tryambaka's problem. If sinfulness is natural to women, and so powerful in its effect in life after life, then how can mere religious instruction help?

Tryambaka begins by collecting evidence for the *pūrvapakṣa* (i.e. the *prima facie* view) he hopes to demolish. The first three *ślokas*, attributed to the *Anusāsanaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*, are taken from Bhīṣma's discourse to Yudhiṣṭhira on the inherent nature of women (*strīsvabhāvakanthanam*; Mbh.XIII.38–9). 'Women are inherently fickle (*calasvabhāvāḥ*), difficult to manage, and in their very nature (*bhāvataḥ*) difficult to understand; as (unintelligible as) the words of a wise man, so are women.'<sup>4</sup> We may note in passing that here are the bad qualities of instability and fickleness attributed to the goddess Śrī by the cows; and hence their excuse for refusing her request (section IIA, pp.60–3). The second *śloka* involves a play on words: since *māyā* ('magic', 'trickery') is a feminine noun, it is taken to be female. 'The (cunning) tricks (*māyā*) of (the demons) Śambhara, Namuci, Bali and Kumbhīnasi<sup>5</sup> too —

4. *tathā cānuśāsanike // calasvabhāvā duhsevyā durgrāhyā bhāvatas tathā / prājñasya puruṣasyeḥ yathā vācas tathā striyah //* Sdhp.21r.4–5 (Mbh.) < Mbh.XIII.38.24.

5. Śambhara and Namuci are *asuras* of the Dānava clan (Mbh. I.59.11–12, 20–2); both were killed by Indra in the great war between the gods and the

all these they (i.e. wise men) know to be women (*yosit[ah]*; i.e. female).<sup>6</sup> The third *śloka* is equally resounding. ‘Ever since the five gross elements (were created), ever since the (three) worlds were created by the creator, ever since men and women (*pramadā[ah]*; lit. “seductive” or “wanton”) were fashioned—ever since then there have been faults (*doṣāḥ*) in women (*pramadāsu*).’<sup>7</sup> For the sake of consistency, the next half-*śloka* is taken out of sequence. For, despite the fact that Tryambaka includes it in a later passage attributed to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, this too belongs to Bhīṣma’s discourse on women in the *Mahābhārata*. ‘(On the one side of a balanced scale,) the edge of the razor, poison, snake(s) and fire; and on the other (i.e. equal to them), women.’<sup>8</sup>

Tryambaka continues with two choice quotations from Manu’s ninth chapter on the religious duties relating to men and women (*striḍharma*). According to Tryambaka’s version of these oft-quoted lines, ‘they (i.e. women) are innately (*svabhāvataḥ*) promiscuous, fickle-minded, lacking in love, and unfaithful to their husbands even when closely guarded.’<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, at the time of their creation, ‘(the original) Manu allocated to women (the habit of) lying and sitting around, (a love of) ornament, (indiscriminate) sexual desire, anger, meanness, treachery and bad conduct.’<sup>10</sup>

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asuras (Mbh.III.165.19–20; III.168.18–19). Bali is an *asura* of the *daitya* clan (Mbh.I.59.11–12,20); he too was defeated by Indra in the great war (Mbh. III.165.15; III.168.20); he was also conquered by Viṣṇu in the form of a dwarf (Mbh.III.100.21; III.299.13). There is no other reference to Kumbhī-nasi in the *Mahābhārata*.

6. *śambharasya ca yā māyā yā māyā namucer api // baleḥ kumbhīnuseś caiva sarvāś tā yoṣito viduh //* Sdhp.21r.5–6 (Mbh.) < Mbh.XIII.39.5.

7. *yataś ca bhūtāni mahānti pañca yataś ca lokā vihitā viddhātrā // yataḥ pumāṁsaḥ pramadāś ca nirmitāś tadaiva doṣāḥ pramadāsu nārada // iti //* Sdhp.21r.6–8 (Mbh.) < Mbh.XIII.38.30.

8. (*rāmāyaṇe 'pi //* Sdhp.21r.10) *kṣuradhārā viṣuṁ sarpo vahnir ity ekataḥ striyah //* Sdhp. 21v.3–4 (Rām.) < Mbh.XIII.38.29b. The full *śloka* puts even more in the scales to balance the evil of women: *antakah śamano mytyuḥ pātālam vaṭavāmukham / kṣuradhārā . . . etc..*

9. *manuh // p[um]ścalyāś calucittāś ca ni[h]snehāś ca svabhāvataḥ / rakṣitā yātato 'piha bhartrṣv etā vikurvate //* Sdhp.21r.8–9 (Manu) < Manu IX.15 (*paumścalyāc calacittāc ca naisnehyāc ca . . .*).

10. *śayyāsanam alankāraṁ kāmam krodham anāryatām / drohabhāvanī kucaryām ca stribhyo manur akalpayat //* Sdhp.21r.9–10 (Manu) < Manu IX.17 (*anārjavam*, ‘dishonesty’, for *anāryatām*; PT follows Manu).

Tryambaka's third and last source of quotations derogatory to women is the *Rāmāyana*. These are culled from three separate episodes. First, Queen Kausalyā's lament to Sītā before the latter's departure to the forest with Rāma includes the bitter complaint that 'the hearts of women do not care for (good) family, (good) deeds, wisdom, gifts, or even affection, for their hearts are inconstant.'<sup>11</sup> In context, of course, Kausalyā's words compliment Sītā, whose devotion to Rāma even in adversity places her so far above the common run of women. Sītā goes further still, and begs Kausalyā not even to associate her with such wicked women.<sup>12</sup> The next two *ślokas* are taken from the sage Agastya's words to Rāma before he advises the prince to settle in Pañcavatī. Again Sītā's behaviour is contrasted with that of ordinary women. For, according to Agastya, 'this has been the nature of women (ever) since creation (began): they cling to him who prospers and abandon him who runs into difficulty.'<sup>13</sup> 'For women take after (i.e. model themselves on) the fickleness of lightning flashes, the sharpness of weapons, and the speed of Garuḍa and the wind.'<sup>14</sup> In the *Rāmāyana* episode, Agastya, having made his point, exonerates Sītā from all such blame.<sup>15</sup> Tryambaka simply quotes further criticisms of women, this time as spoken by the female ascetic Anasūyā (wife of the sage, Atri) to Sītā. She too compliments Sītā by denigrating the women who refuse to behave as she does. 'For wicked women—who do not know right from wrong in this way, and who, although dependent on their husbands for protection (*bhartṛnāthā*[*h*]), wander about with their hearts subject (only) to their own desires—(such women,) O Maithilī, incur disgrace and a fall from *dharma*'.<sup>16</sup> In the context of Anasūyā's advice to Sītā, these words describe the

11. *rāmāyane pi // na-kulam na kṛtam vidyāṁ na dattam nāpi samgraham / strīnāṁ gṛhṇāti hrdayam anityahṛdayā hi tāḥ //* Sdhp.21r.10–21v.1 (Rām.) < Rām.II.39.23b,24a (vidyā for *vidyāṁ*, *saṃgrahaḥ* for *saṃgraham*).

12. *na mām asujjanenāryā samānayitum arhati //* Rām.II.39.28b.

13. *eṣā hi prakṛtiḥ[ḥ] strīnām ā srṣṭe raghunandana/ samastham anuraj[y]anti viśamastham tyajanti ca //* Sdhp.21v.1–2 (Rām.) < Rām.III.13.5.

14. *śatahradānām lolatvam ṣastrānām tiksṇatām tathā / garudānilāyoh saighryam anugacchanti yositah //* Sdhp.21v.2–3 (Rām.) < Rām.III.13.6.

15. *iyam tu bhavato bhāryā dosair etair vivarjītā //* Rām.III.13.7a.

16. *ayodhyākānde sītām praty anasūyā //* Sdhp.21v.4. *na tv evam ava-gacchanti gunadosam a[sa]tstriyāḥ/ kāmavaktavyahṛdayā bhartṛnāthāś caranti yāḥ //* *prāpnuvanty ayaśāś caiva dharmabhrāmśam ca maithilī[ḥ] //* Sdhp.21v.4–6 (Rām.) < Rām.II.117.26–27a. See also Sdhp.25r.3–4, section IV.

behaviour and fate of bad women, not the inherent nature of women in general. Out of context, as presented by Tryambaka, the implication is that such is the behaviour of the majority of women.

Tryambaka ends with a well-known *śloka* on the fate in store for women who indulge their evil tendencies. 'By their breach of conduct, women who behave badly (*durvṛttāḥ*) cause their three families — of father, mother and husband — to fall, bringing them misfortune both in this world (disgrace) and in the next (bad *karma*).'<sup>17</sup>

Tryambaka concludes his case for the innate wickedness of women by directing us to his own voluminous commentary on the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Dharmākūṭa*, where, he tells us, 'further examples (of this kind) are to be found'.<sup>18</sup> (For a brief discussion of the authorship of the *Dharmākūṭa*, see pp.10-13.)

The argument is resumed once more. 'If, as a result of hearing in this way about the multiplicity of faults (attributed to women), someone were to ask how women could (possibly) have any inclination towards religious duty, then the answer is (twofold): because it is understood from the words of Manu and others that they (women) have such qualities as inherent purity (*tāsāṁ svabhāvika-śucitvādi gunānām avagamāt*); and because it is also understood from the words of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* that women are inherently blessed with good fortune (*strīnāṁ svabhāvato dhanyatvāvugamād api*).'<sup>19</sup> Before dealing with the specific quotations provided by Tryambaka, I shall consider in more general terms the first of his two assertions.

In ascribing purity to women, Tryambaka takes the bull by the horns. For it is precisely the impurity of women that is usually assumed. There are two major reasons for this. First, there is the impurity of menstruation (see section IV, pp.283-4). This is not merely one of the twelve impurities of the body (cf. Manu V.135), but the inescapable reminder of a woman's guilt. The story of

17. *śilabhaṅgena durvṛttāḥ pātayanti kulaṭrayam / pitur mātus tathā patyur ihamutra ca duḥkhadāḥ // iti //* Sdhp.21v.6-7 (Rām.) < Sk.P.III.2.7.59 (duḥkhitāḥ for duḥkhadāḥ). See also Sdhp.21v.3-4, from section IV.

18. *vistarā tu rāmāyanadharmaṅkūte draṣṭavyah //* Sdhp.21v.7-8. Cf. Dharmāk.II.i.p.309.

19. *evaṁ doṣabāhulyaśravaṇāt katham dharme pravṛttir iti ced ucyate // ... ityādi manvādi vacanais tāsāṁ svabhāvikaśucitvādi gunānām avagamāt // ... iti viṣṇupurāṇavacanena strīnāṁ svabhāvato dhanyatvāvugamād api //* Sdhp.21v.8, 22r.1, 6-7.

Indra's brahminicide is told in the *Taittirīyasamhitā*. When Indra kills Viśvarūpa, he is condemned by the three worlds as a brahmin-killer. To escape the effects of this most heinous crime, he persuades the earth, trees and women to assume one-third of his guilt each. In return, he grants each a boon: the earth, when dug, will heal within one year; trees, when cut, will grow again; and women, unlike other animals, may enjoy sexual intercourse at any time (Tait. Sam.II.5.1ff.), even in advanced pregnancy (cf. section IV, pp.288–9). Indra's guilt took the form of fissures in the earth, sap in trees—hence one should avoid 'red secretions' and resin from cut trees (Manu V.6; cf. Tait.Sam.II.5.4)—and menstrual blood in women. In several variations on this theme, Indra distributes his brahminicide in four parts: among women, fire, trees and cows (Mbh.XII. 329.28–41); among rivers, mountains, earth and women (Mbh.V. 10–13); among trees, earth, women and water (Bhāg.P.VI.9.6–10). The constant recipient is women. In some texts, Indra's sin causes the recipients to become impure; in others, the recipients are already impure. For example, the guilt of Indra is offloaded onto 'foetus-killers' in the *Atharvaveda* (p.522ff.); onto sinful brahmins who serve śūdras and so on in the *Skandapurāṇa* (V.3.118.141); and onto those who kill brahmins in the *Rāmāyana* (VIII.86.10–16). Menstruation, the sign of a woman's participation in brahmin-murder, is thus a mark of both her sexual appetite and her innate impurity (cf. O'Flaherty 1976:153ff.; for the symbolic 'menstrual pollution' of rivers and the earth, see Salomon 1984:153ff., 175–6).

Secondly, as women lost the right to Vedic education and *upanayana* (cf. Baudh.I.5.11.7; Manu IX.18; etc.), they were increasingly relegated to the level of the śūdra. For example, Manu gives the same rules of purification to women as to śūdras (V.139). Pace R.M. Das (1962:257), who claims that this verse illustrates the purity of women, what is important here is not that women only need to sip water once to become pure but that they are equated with śūdras (who also have to sip water once) and not with twice-born men (who must sip three times).

Again and again, women are linked with other creatures whose only common quality is impurity. As early as the *Śatapathabrahmana*, we learn that a woman, a śūdra, a dog and a crow are the embodiments of untruth, sin and darkness.<sup>20</sup> Since the śūdra is the lowest of the four classes of men, whose touch defiles (cf. Āp.

20. *anṛtam strī śūdrāḥ svā kṛṣṇah śakunis . . . //* Śat.Br.XIV.1.1.31.

I.5.17.1 and Har. comm.), and since dogs and crows are always regarded as unclean (cf. Āp.I.5.15.16, I.5.16.30; Baudh.I.6.14.15; Vis.Sm.XXIII.38; etc.), the implication is that women too are impure. Even Manu's claim that a woman's mouth is always pure,<sup>21</sup> so often quoted out of context (e.g. Das 1962:257), is something of a back-handed compliment (cf. Manu IV.208). For the verse clearly states the peculiar circumstances in which what is otherwise regarded as impure may be considered pure: a woman's mouth for the purpose of kissing (*cumbanādau*, *paricumbanādau*, Sarv., Rāgh., Medh. on Manu V.130; *cumbanālinaganādau*, Nand. on Vis.Sm. XXIII.49); fruit that has fallen as a result of a bird (glossed as 'crows, etc.') pecking it; the flesh of a deer seized by (the hunter's) dog (Manu V.130 and commentaries; Vis.Sm.XXIII.49; cf. Vas. XXVIII.8). Vis.Sm.XXIII.50 expands upon the last point, explaining that the meat of an animal killed by dogs, or by any other carnivorous animals (glossed as 'tigers, jackals, birds of prey, etc.'), or by such as *candālas* (glossed as 'outcastes and hunters'), is pure. Tryambaka's claim that women are innately pure is therefore by no means obvious.

He supports the claim in two ways. In doing so, he wisely avoids the pitfalls of comparing women with men: the beliefs surrounding sexual difference make that a fruitless approach. Instead, he produces evidence for a purity that is, by its very nature, peculiar to women.

First, he alludes to the traditional view, encapsulated in the Vedic marriage hymn (*vivāhasūkta*; R.V.X.85), that the marriage ceremony celebrates not the young girl's first marriage, but her fourth. Her previous three marriages are on the transcendent or symbolic plane.<sup>22</sup> As the *vivāhasūkta* explains, Soma acquired her first, then the Gandharva, Agni was her third husband, her fourth is born of

21. *nityam āsyam śuci strīnām . . .* // Manu V. 130a; Vis.Sm.XXIII.49a (Nand. quotes Laiigabārhaspati, *smṛtyantara* and *Yamasmr̄ti* in support of the purity of women). Cf. Br.Sam.73.8 (the feet of brahmins, the backs of cows, the faces of goats and horses are pure; but women are pure all over); Vas.XXVIII.9.

22. For other sets of four items of which three are invisible and transcendent and only the fourth is visible here on earth (e.g. *purusa*, R.V.X.90; *vāk*, R.V.I.164.45; and the sacred fires, Tait.Sam.II.6.6.1, Sat.Br.I.2.3.1), see Malamoud 1982:36.

man (*manuṣyajāḥ*).<sup>23</sup> The three deities are the divine guardians of the young girl. According to Sāyaṇa, Soma marries the girl child at birth (*jātām kanyām*; Sāy. on R.V.X.85.40), for the moon is the deity of early growth, who 'moulds the years' (*samānām*, glossed as *samvatsarānām*; *māsa ākṛtiḥ*, glossed as *kartā*; R.V.X. 85.5 and Sāy.). The Gandharva is the deity of childhood and virginity (cf. R.V.X.85.21–2). Agni is the god of maturity, dwelling in the sacred fire round which the bride must walk. According to the *Gṛhyasamgraha* (quoted in the commentary on the Gobh.gr.III.4.6 statement that a bride should be *nagnikā*), Soma enjoys her first, the Gandharva, when her breasts develop, Agni when she menstruates. Alternatively, in the words of *Samvṛta* 64 (cf. Sm.C.I.p.79), Soma enjoys a girl when hair begins to grow on her body, the Gandharva when she menstruates, Agni when her breasts develop. Each in turn 'marries' the girl, enjoys her favours, rewards her, then passes her on (R.V.X.85.41a). By the time the girl reaches her fourth husband, therefore, she is the recipient of three divine gifts. As Tryambaka intones of women in general (in a quotation attributed vaguely to 'Manu, etc.'), 'Soma gave them cleanliness (*śaucam*), the Gandharva an auspicious (or pure; *śubham*) tongue (lit. "speech" or "voice"), Agni all-round purity (*sarvamedhyatvam*); and therefore women are pure (*medhyā*) indeed.'<sup>24</sup> The commentators on Yājñ.I.71 stress that this does not mean that women are without fault (Mit.); nor that their sins are less serious than those of a man (Bāl.); it merely explains why the penalties incurred by women are lighter (Mit., Bāl.). But it is a powerful *śloka*, often called to the defence of women: by Rāghavānanda to enlarge upon Manu's dictum that a woman's mouth is always pure (Manu V.i30); by Viśvarūpa to show that, unlike men, women, being pure in body, speech and mind, are free from sin;<sup>25</sup> by Aparārka in praise of women (Dh.kośa I.ii.1086). In Sm.C.I.p.79, however, the *śloka* is

<sup>23.</sup> *somaḥ prathamo vivide gandharvo vivida uttarah / trīyo agniś te patis turīyas te manuṣyajāḥ* // R.V.X.85.40. Cf. Pār.gr.I.4.16–17.

<sup>24.</sup> *somaḥ śaucam dadau tāsām gandharvas tu śubhām girām / pāvakas sarvamedhyatvam medhyā vai yośito hy atah* // Sdhp.21v.8–9 (Manu etc.) < Yājñ.I.71 (*dadav āsām*; *ca* for *tu*). Cf. Baudh.II.2.4.5; Vas.XXVIII.5–6.

<sup>25.</sup> *yasmāt somādibhir āsām śaucam manovākkāyalakṣanam dattam, tas-mān nirdoṣā evaiṭāḥ / pumsām eva niyogakartrīṇām doṣa ity abhiprāyah* // Dh.kośa I.ii.1086 (Viśvarūpa's comm. on Yājñ.I.71).

declared to be 'only in praise of women' (*praśamsāmātram*), meaning that the allusions to ritual purity (*sarvayajñārhatvam*) are purely rhetorical (cf. Br.Sam.73.7 for a similar verse).

This important *śloka* is often adduced as evidence for another quite different issue, that of the early marriage of girls (see my discussion of *nagnikā* in section II A, pp.86–8; cf. Thieme 1971). As the symbolism stands, however, it seems obvious that a girl was expected to marry her human bridegroom *after* receiving the signs and gifts of the three gods; that is, after her breasts had developed and she had begun to menstruate. But the obvious is repeatedly ignored. According to the *Jyotirnibandha*, for example, two years should be allowed for each deity, and therefore a girl should not marry until she is six years old (Vidyārnava 1974). Similarly, *Samvārta* 67 concludes that a girl should be safely married off before she develops any of the three signs of femaleness already described as indications of her divine marriages (see *Samvārta* 64, cited above); preferably at the age of eight.<sup>26</sup> Although such interpretations are clearly distortions of the text, it is evident that something very like them is accepted by Tryambaka. For if he acknowledged the real import of the Rgvedic verse he quotes (and thus the need for girls to marry *after* menstruation), then he would not feel the need to defend *ṛtukāladharma* with such vigour (see section IV, pp.287–8). For a detailed analysis of R.V.X.85 in its Rgvedic context, including a useful discussion of these three celestial 'husbands' or 'guardians' of the bride, see Menski 1984:II, §3.1, pp. 219–83.

Tryambaka's second argument for the purity of women tackles the important question of menstruation. Far from being the mark of great sin, menstruation, according to his next quotation (also attributed to 'Manu, etc.'), is the mark of an all-encompassing purity unique to women. 'Women are incomparably pure; at no time are they defiled; for menstruation sweeps away their sins month after month.'<sup>27</sup> In fact, this is the classic argument not for the

26. *romakāle tu samprāpte somo bhūktetha kanyakām / rajo drṣṭvā tu gandharvāḥ kucau drṣṭvā tu pāvakah // . . . tasmād vivāhayet kanyām yāvan na rūmatī bhavet / vivāho hy aṣṭavarsāyāḥ kanyāyās tu praśasyate // Samvārta 64 and 67, quoted Sm.C.I.p.79.*

27. *striyah pavitram atulam naitā dusyanti karhiciti / māsi māsi rajo hy āśāṁ duritāny apakarṣati // Sdhp.21v.9–10 (Manu etc.) < Baudh.II.2.4.4.; Vas.XXVIII.4. Cf. Vas.V.5; Yājñ.I.72; Br.Sam.73.9.*

purity of women *per se* but for the proper treatment of women who have become 'defiled' by contact with other men (e.g. *Baudhāyana-vivaranam*, Dh.kośa I.ii.1085). Vas.XXVIII.2-3 includes in this category women who have been raped or carried off by thieves, as well as those who are merely bad-tempered or who have left home. In a *sloka* recalling the story of Indra's brahminicide, Manu V.108 asserts that menstruation purifies women of impure thoughts (glossed by Medh. as 'thinking about other men').<sup>28</sup> Early *dharma-sāstra* writers took a similar view of a wife's adultery, ruling that she should be abandoned only if she continued to go astray (cf. Par. Sm.X.34), or if she conceived (cf. Yājñ.I.72; *garbhena dusyate kanyā*, Mbh.XIII.36.17). Some writers, like Aparārka, insist that such lenient passages refer only to 'mental' rather than physical adultery (*etac ca mānase vyabhicāre*; Apar. on Yājñ. I.72). This point of view makes progeny not sexual fidelity its main concern. 'Physical' adultery is doubly reprehensible for it may both deprive a man of the son he needs for religious observances and lead to confusion of class (*varnasamkara*; Manu VIII.353).

Notwithstanding his insistence here on the innate purity of women, Tryambaka belongs to the sterner school of thought. Although he does not deal specifically with adultery, he has included many of the familiar *slokas* on the subject in his section on *ṛtukāladharma* (section IV, pp.287-8). (Chief among these is the pronouncement that the wife who 'offends against' (*lañghayet*) her husband should be devoured by dogs in a public place (Sdhp.38r. 2-3 < Manu VIII.371). Similarly, in his section on dying with one's husband (*sahagamanavidhi*), Tryambaka embarks on a lengthy discussion of whether or not *sahagamana* may be regarded as a *prāyaścitta* or rite of atonement for women who have behaved badly (even in a non-sexual sense). He concludes that there is no such *prāyaścitta* for women; that there is therefore no escaping the penalties awaiting such a woman in hell; and thus that women would be well-advised to behave (see section IV, pp.295-7). In view of these two quite separate judgements, it is hard to see what power of purity other than the symbolic might be conferred by the menstrual flow of women. Tryambaka's concern, however, is not to present a coherent view of how women fit into the cosmic scheme

28. *mṛttoyah śudhyate śodhyam nadī vegena śudhyati / rajasā stri mano-dustū samnyāsenā dvijottamah //* Manu V.108.

of things, but to persuade women to conform. Hence his problem: he must show on the one hand that women are in dire need of religious instruction, and on the other that they have not fallen too low to appreciate and apply it.

Having established a woman's peculiar claim to purity, Tryambaka must also demonstrate that she is inherently and uniquely blessed (see note 19). Such a view is clearly not in line with orthodox beliefs about *karma* and sexual difference. If birth as a woman is the result of bad *karma*, and birth as a (twice-born) man that of good *karma*, in what sense can one argue that the former is more fortunate than the latter? It would be like saying that being born a *sūdra*, although strictly speaking the penalty for bad *karma* in a previous life, is in fact a greater blessing than birth as a *dvija*. This seems especially unlikely with regard to brahmins who by the mere fact of their birth are to be honoured by the gods (Manu XI.84); who own everything by virtue of their innate superiority (Manu I.100); who are gods visible here on earth, maintaining both the universe and the gods in heaven (Vis.Sm.XIX.20–2); who are the highest beings in the whole world (Mbh.XII.56.22); and so on.

But this is precisely what Tryambaka claims. He draws his evidence from a passage in the sixth book of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*. Since the quotation he gives is both incomplete and out of context, it will be useful to present a fuller version of the story here. Book V of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* ends with the destruction of the Yādavas. Book VI describes the dissolution of the universe and the onset of the *kali* age in which 'four-footed virtue' is destroyed (*dharmaś catuspād*, VI.1.8; cf. also Kūrm.P.I.27.20; Manu 1.81–2 and Kull.; *vr̥so hi bhagavān dharmah*, Manu VIII.16). Chapter 1 describes the degeneration of all things in the *kali* age: the rules of *varṇa* and *āśrama* are no longer observed (Vis.P.VI.1.10); people take what texts they choose as scripture, worship whatever gods they please (Vis.P.I.14), decide for themselves what is right (Vis.P.VI.1.15); men of all levels consider themselves equal to brahmins (Vis.P.VI.1.23); women are fickle, short, greedy, disobedient, selfish, immoral, and so on and so forth (*lolupā hrasvadehāś ca bahvannādanatāt-parāḥ... ; Vis.P.VI.1.28–31*). According to another description of the *kali* age, women will have too many children (*bahuprajāḥ*), be short of stature (*hrasvadehāḥ*), cast off all morals (*śilācāravivarjitāḥ*), have intercourse through the mouth (*mukhebhagāḥ*), bristle with hair (*keśaśūlāḥ*), and fornicate with slaves and even animals (Mbh. III.186.35–6, 55; cf. Kūrm.P.I.28.140). Perhaps as an antidote to

this, chapter 2 of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* recounts in the form of a story the few redeeming properties of this degenerate age (cf. Br.P.229. 15–36; PVK V.ii.928–30; Wilhelm 1982:1–17).

The story runs as follows. Some sages were unable to agree in which of the four ages the least merit accrued the greatest reward, and by whom that reward was most easily obtained. They went to Veda-Vyāsa, found him in the midst of his ablutions, and waited. Three times, Vyāsa immersed himself. As he rose the first time, he pronounced the *kali* age excellent;<sup>29</sup> as he rose the second time, he congratulated the *sūdra* on being blessed;<sup>30</sup> and as he rose the third time, he exclaimed that no one was more blessed than women. But once again, it is a back-handed compliment that praises someone or something in the company of other people or things not normally praised. His bathing ritual over, the sages asked him to explain these apparently extraordinary pronouncements. Vyāsa's answer is characteristic of the purāṇic ideal. The *kali* age is the best in that it is the easiest age in which to achieve religious merit: what in the *kṛta* age takes ten years of *tapas*, *brahmacarya* and *japa* may be achieved in the *kali* age in one day and night; the results obtained by meditation in the *kṛta* age, by sacrifice in the *treta* age, by worship in the *dvāpara* age, may be attained in the *kali* age merely by reciting the name of Viṣṇu (Vis.P.VI.2.15–17). The *sūdra* is blessed because none of the restrictions on the *dvija* (i.e. years of study and self-denial, costly sacrifices, strict rules governing food, etc.), apply to him; he has only to serve the twice-born to obtain his reward (Vis.P.VI.2.22–3). The case for women is much the same.

Tryambaka quotes only the parts of this story that refer to women. The somewhat mutilated passage reads as follows. 'The great sage immersed himself, rose up once more and said: "Women are supremely blessed (*sādhudhanyā*[*ḥ*]). Who is more blessed than them?"'<sup>31</sup> Tryambaka explains that 'when they heard Vyāsa's words, the sages asked him what he meant and Vyāsa replied . . .'.<sup>32</sup> The quotation continues with the relevant parts of Vyāsa's answer. 'Since, O twice-born men, a woman who is of benefit to her hus-

29. *vyāsaḥ sādhuḥ kalih sādhur ity eva śrīvatāṁ tataḥ* // Vis.P.VI.2.6b.

30. *utthāya sādhu sādhu iti sūdra dhanyāsi cābravū* // Vis.P.VI.2.7b.

31. *nimagnāś ca samutthāya punah prāha mahāmuniḥ / yoṣitah sādhu-dhanyās tās tābhyo dhanyatara 'sti kah* // Sdhp.22r.1–2 (Vis.P.) < Vis.P.VI.2.8 (sa *nimagnāḥ* for *nimagnāś* ca).

32. *iti vyāsavacanam śrutiā ko 'syārtha iti prasiṁ munīn prati vyāsaḥ* // Sdhp.22r. 2–3 (PT amends *prasiṁ* to *prasiṭavato*).

band by serving him in thought, word and deed, will come to dwell in the same heaven as he does<sup>33</sup>— that is, (she can attain) those same (worlds) as a man (can but) without enormous effort—that is why I said the third time about women that they are blessed.<sup>34</sup> Vyāsa concludes the episode: ‘Dharma is fulfilled in the *kali* age with very little effort<sup>35</sup> (. . . and) by women without effort merely by serving their husbands. And that is why, the third time, I considered these (three; i.e. the *kali* age, the *sūdra* and women) to be most blessed (*dhanyataram*).’<sup>36</sup>

Tryambaka’s purpose here is clear. He wishes to demonstrate first, that women are not beyond religious instruction; secondly, that they are to be envied for the ease and efficacy of the religious duty allotted to them. But if we examine this evidence in its purānic context, there is a serious contradiction here. For the *purānas* introduced several striking changes into the religious ideals and practices of the post-Vedic era. The notion that the highest rewards can be attained by the least effort is typical. But if, as Vyāsa declares, repeating the name of Viṣṇu has replaced the *tapas*, *brahmacarya* and so on of the *dvija*, why has it not also replaced the *dvijaśuśrūṣanam* of the *sūdra* and the *patisuśrūṣanam* of women? *Bhakti*, if it is allowed at all, supersedes the obligations of both *svadharma* and *sanātanadharma*. By *bhakti*, Harikeśa sidesteps the *svadharma* of the *yakṣa* (cf. Matsy.P.180.5ff.; Sk.P.IV.32.I–175); Sukeśin that of the *rākṣasa*. Vām.P.11–16 describes how the latter, a king of demons (11.7), sought advice from holy sages regarding the duties specific to each class of beings (11.14–27). He is told of the

33. *yā strī śuśrūṣanād bhartuḥ karmaṇā manasā girā / taddhitā samavāpnoti tatsālokyam yato dvijāḥ* // Sdhp.22r.3–4 (Viṣ.P.) < Viṣ.P.VI.2.28 (yośit śuśrūṣanām bhartuḥ karmaṇā manasā girā / kurvatī samavāpnoti tatsālokyam yato dvijāḥ //).

34. *nātikleśena mahatā tān eva puruso yathā / trītyam vyādhṛtam tena mayā sādhv iti yośitām* // Sdhp.22r.4–5 (Viṣ.P.) < Viṣ.P.VI.2.29 (yośitāḥ for yośitām).

35. *svalpenaiva prayatnena dharmah sidhyati vai kalau* (Vis.P.VI.2.34a). This and the next two half-ślokas (concerning the *kali* age in general and *sūdras* in particular; vital to the sense of the original passage) are omitted in Sdhp..

36. *tathā strībhīr anāyāsāt patiśuśrūṣayaiva hi / tatas trītyam apy etan mama dhanyataram mata[m]* // Sdhp.22r.5–6 (Viṣ.P.) < Viṣ.P.VI.2.35b,36a (trītyam for trītyam, dhanyataram for dhanyataram).

*dharma* prescribed for *daityas* (11.16) and *rāksasas* (11.26). After a discourse on the actions leading to hell (remarkably similar to the *dharma* of demons, 12.1 -43), the sages list the 'ten-limbed' *sanātana-dharma* prescribed for all (14.1). Sukeśin returns to his city of demons and commands them all to practise *sanātanadharma* (16.1 -4) and *bhakti* (16.19). Angered by the demons' deviation from their ordained *svadharma* (16.34 -7), Sūrya destroys their city (16.38 -9). Sukeśin is saved by the intervention of Siva, who thus effectively upholds *bhakti* against *svadharma*. But despite his purānic quotations, Tryambaka is not of the purānic mould. His rigid codification of *strīdharma* places him firmly in the orthodox post-Vedic age. He uses Vyāsa's pronouncements solely to prove that women are not beyond redemption; the implications of the comments on the *kali* age simply do not apply.

For Tryambaka, *patisuśrūṣayam* is not only the most effective religious observance for women; it is the only one. His section on things to be avoided makes this abundantly clear. Not only may a woman not worship any god other than her husband, but she is also forbidden to engage in any religious observance other than devotion to him. Here Tryambaka declares only that women are blessed with the easiest path to heaven; there he intones that any alternative or additional observance will 'cause them to fall' (see section IV, pp.274 -6, note 7). Such pronouncements dismiss the claims of *bhakti* altogether: women must conform to the functions prescribed. For the moment, however, the emphasis is on the unique blessing that a female birth confers. In view of this, Tryambaka concludes that 'it is indeed reasonable (to suppose) that there is an interest (on the part of women) both in receiving instruction in their religious duties and in performing them.'<sup>37</sup>

Tryambaka's insistence on the blessings of being born a woman recalls the story of king Bhaṅgāsvana, whose success and happiness so irritates Indra that the god transforms him into a woman (Mbh. III.12). Leaving his family and his kingdom, the female Bhaṅgāsvana retires to the forest where she produces another family with an ascetic living there. Indra causes the two sets of children to quarrel

37. *iti dharmānām śravane tadācarane ca pravṛttir yuktaiva //* Sdhp.22r.8. Unlike PT, I have followed the scribe's inversion marks and restored the intended order to Sdhp.22r.7-8 (cf. note 41), incl. the marginal insertion of *iti* at the beginning.

and kill each other. The carnage complete, he gives Bhārigāśvana the opportunity of reviving one set of children, Bhārigāśvana chooses the children she has produced as a woman on the grounds that the love of a woman is greater than that of a man (Mbh.XIII.12.42). When Indra then offers to transform her back into a man, Bhārigāśvana refuses. She prefers to remain in her female form because she has found that women always experience greater pleasure in sexual intercourse than men (Mbh.XIII.12.47).<sup>38</sup> This is an interesting story in the context of *strīdharmia* for it makes a virtue of the much-maligned sexuality of women. For example, the usual assertions are that the sexual drive is stronger and more destructive in women (e.g. Mbh.XIII.20.59–60, 64–7); that sex, the cause of death in the world, is the direct result of the passionate nature of women (e.g. Mārk.P.49.28–9); that the origin of evil itself is directly linked to the sexual passion of women (e.g. Mbh.XIII.40.5–12). Even Tryambaka's argument that women are uniquely blessed does not extend to a defence of female sexuality. For, as we have seen, he does not take issue with Manu's statement that women are innately promiscuous and oversexed (see note 9). For Tryambaka's purposes at this point, the story of Bhārigāśvana would be counterproductive.

Tryambaka's third and final argument in support of his thesis that women can benefit from religious instruction is simply that even bad people can improve. He takes as his scriptural proof the famous (but here unattributed) saying that 'good conduct destroys inauspicious mark(s)'.<sup>39</sup> The complete *śloka*, taken from Manu's section on rules for the *snātaka*, maintains that good conduct makes all things possible — long life, the desired offspring, inexhaustible wealth — thereby annihilating the inauspicious potential (*alakṣanam*) of one's nature or circumstance.<sup>40</sup> Sarvajñanārāyaṇa and Rāmacandra gloss *alakṣanam* as *alakṣmīm* ('misfortune'); Rāghavānanda as *ninditarogaparadārādisevanam* ('culpable diseases and a fondness for the wives of other men', i.e. both physical and behavioural defects; cf. Manu XI.48–54). Such defects cause those

38. *striyās tv abhyadhikah sneho na tathā puruṣasya vai // Mbh.XIII.12.42a. striyāḥ puruṣasamyoge prītir abhyadhikā sadā // Mbh.XIII.12.47b.*

39. *ācāro hanty alakṣanam // Sdhp.22r.7 < Manu IV.156; Vas.VI.8; Viṣ.Sm.LXXI.91 (Adyar edn., Mysore MS).*

40. *ācārāl labhate hy āyur ācārād ipsitāḥ prajāḥ / ācārād dhanam akṣayyam ācāro hanty alakṣanam // Manu IV.156.*

who have them to be despised by good people (Manu XI.53); if they are not expiated in this life, one is reborn with 'culpable characteristics' (*ninditair lakṣanair*; Manu XI.54). However, according to Manu, good conduct produces good effects even if one lacks all auspicious marks (*sarvalakṣaṇahīno 'pi*; Manu IV.158), even—to return to the context of *strīdharma*—if one has the misfortune to be born a woman. Tryambaka's version of all this runs as follows. 'Because of the saying that "good conduct destroys inauspicious mark(s)", it is indeed possible (for women) by virtue of their good conduct (i.e. as a result of religious instruction) to give up the (inherent) faults (traditionally and rightly) ascribed to them.'<sup>41</sup>

This is the orthodox view of *svadharma*. In the story of the worm that makes its way back up the scale of births (*kīṭopākhyānam*; Mbh. XIII.118–20), the moral is that good conduct produces auspicious births, evil conduct evil births. And good conduct is defined as that appropriate to one's birth (Mbh.XIII.120.9). Thus a *kṣatriya* who performs his duty well (*vṛittaślāghī*, i.e. who is praised for conduct appropriate to his station; Mbh.XIII.119.23) becomes a brahmin. For women, who cannot purify themselves by mantras or worship other gods, *strīdharma* is the only hope. If they fulfil the requirements prescribed, they may be rewarded by being reborn as men, perhaps even as *dvija* men blessed with the right to recite mantras. Granted this means of purification, they may then aspire to better and better births. In the meantime, however, *strīdharma* must be their only goal.

Tryambaka's contribution to the debate on *strīsvabhāva* is not to be found in any one point, but rather in his juxtaposition of negative and positive statements about women in an attempt to make sense of the inherent contradictions. The more usual approach is to keep the negative and positive quite separate, and not to admit of a contradiction at all. Hence we find eulogies of exemplary individuals or the ideal roles of wife and mother in one place, and denunciations of wicked individuals or the wickedness of women in general somewhere else.

Manu, for example, tells us that one's daughter is the highest object of one's affection (Manu IV.185, among the rules for *snātakas*); that one's sister and aunts deserve the same respect as one's

<sup>41.</sup> *nirūpitadosaṇām tu ācāro hanty alakṣaṇam iti vacanāt sadācārena nivṛttih sambhavati // iti // Sdhp.2r.7–8. Cf. note 37.*

mother (Manu II.133, among the rules for students); that one owes one's mother-in-law the respect due to the *guru*'s wife (Manu II.131; cf. Manu IV.183); that one's mother is a thousand times more venerable than one's father, a hundred thousand times more so than an *ācārya* (Manu II.145; cf. Manu II.227). Elsewhere, however, he warns that even a learned man should take care when in the company of a woman, even his own mother, sister or daughter, for it is the nature of women to seduce men (Manu II.213–15; cf. Manu IX.14–17). As Tryambaka's examples show, the *Rāmā�ana* is dotted with derogatory references to women and yet exorbitant praise of such as Sītā (see notes 11–18). In the *Mahābhārata*, Draupadī is praised for her management of husbands and household (Mbh.III.222–4; cf. section IV, pp.280–1); and celebrated as the 'salvation of the sons of Pāṇḍu' after she has rescued her husbands from the consequences of the ill-fated dice-game (Mbh. II.64.2). Kuntī is honoured as the ideal long-suffering mother (e.g. Mbh.I.138.15–19), Gāndhārī as the embodiment of intelligence and justice (e.g. Mbh.II.66.28ff.), Sulabhā for her wisdom (Mbh. XIII.308), and so on. Yet when the nature of women comes under discussion—as, for example, in the *strīsvabhāvakathanam* recounted to Yudhiṣṭhira by Bhīṣma (Mbh.XIII.38)—then women are the root of all evils, nothing is more wicked than women.<sup>42</sup> Occasionally, positive and negative are juxtaposed with somewhat startling effect, as when a *nāga*'s wife, already described as obedient, dutiful and virtuous, is asked if she has neglected her duties 'due to being weakened by the imperfect understanding natural to women' (*akṛtarthena strībuddhyā mārdavikṛta*; Mbh.XII.347.2–4). But even then, the implicit contradiction is neither stressed nor explained.

At the heart of this confusion is a barely examined but radical distinction between the wicked nature of women (*strīsvabhāva*) and the virtuous behaviour of wives (*strīdharma*). This distinction is never explicitly made in any rulings on *strī*, not even in a text like the *Strīdharmapaddhati*. But the stress on wifely occupations and duties, and the total lack of interest in the woman except as wife (e.g. in her childhood, her education, the occupations open to her before marriage, etc.) clearly imply that all notions of 'woman'

42. *striyo hi mūlam doṣānām // Mbh.XIII.38.1b,12b. na strībhyah kimcid anyad vai pāpiyastaram asti vai !! Mbh.XIII.38.12a.* Cf. notes 4,6,7.

should be submerged in the ideal of 'wife'. This is true even when the husband is away (see section IV, p.291), or has died (see section IV, pp.291-8, 298-304). Thus any part of 'woman' that diverges from the ideal 'wife' is due to her wicked nature and to be condemned. This makes sense of such examples as that of the *nāga* who praises his dutiful wife yet condemns her woman's nature. It also explains why the two topics are usually treated separately; why the *strīsvabhāvakanthanam* is a tirade of abuse (Mbh.XIII.38) while the discourses on the duties of women present models of patience and virtue (e.g. Mbh.XIII.124, 134). If the two can be opposed, conflict and argument are clearly possible. But can they logically be opposed?

In its widest, cosmic sense, *dharma* is the law of the universe, the fundamental order sustaining the world, inherent in the very nature of things. Both descriptive and prescriptive, it indicates both what is and what ought to be, the real and the ideal. In the realm of individual action, therefore, it embraces both what one does and what one ought to do. The *kṣatriya*, for example, should and does fight; the *vaiśya* should and does engage in business. Each individual's action, defined by birth and circumstance, is his duty; it was ordained to be so and is therefore right. At this level, there is no conflict: individual *dharma* is simply the reflection of cosmic law.

But two areas of conflict emerge in relation to the *dharma* of women: the potential clash between *strīdharma* and *sanātanadharma* (see section V, pp.309-12); and a confusion within the notion of *svadharma* itself. In the case of men, *svadharma* is usually taken to mean the specific duties laid down by *varṇa* and *āśrama*. According to Medhātithi and Kullūka (on Manu II.25), *svadharma* is of five kinds: that of *varṇa*; that of *āśrama*; that of *varṇa* and *āśrama* combined; that arising from a particular cause or occasion (*naimittikadharma*; such as that appropriate for the purification of something, *dravyasuddhyādi*, Medh.); or the rules of expiation, *prāyaścittavidhi*, Kull.). And that inherent in having a particular quality or characteristic (*gunadharma*). According to Kullūka, *gunadharma* is that which accrues because of a quality; for example, the quality of being a king (i.e. one responsible for his subjects) gives rise to the protection of those subjects.<sup>43</sup> But there is surely no

43. *yo gunena pravarteta gunadharmaḥ sa ucyate / yathā mūrdhābhisiktasya  
prajānām paripālanam //* Kull. on Manu II.25.

conflict here. For the inherent nature of an individual, his *svabhāva*, is the source of his *dharma*, not a temptation away from it. Thus the *sūdra*, even if freed by his master, is not released from servitude because this is innate in him<sup>44</sup> and was ordained (cf. Manu VIII. 413). The *sūdra*'s servile nature impels him to serve; the king's regal nature impels him to rule, fight and protect. As the *Bhagavadgītā* declares, a man must act according to his 'nature' (*prakṛti*), however wise he is.<sup>45</sup> His *svabhāva* is thus both his character and his duty, both what is and what is right.

So why is this not true of women? Why is it consistently assumed that a woman's *svabhāva* will entice her away from her duty instead of reinforcing or defining it? In what sense can the *svabhāva* of women alone be in opposition to their *svadharma*, and therefore bad?

Perhaps the treatment of kings is the nearest parallel to that of women. Manu exhorts the king to control his senses at all times (Manu VII.44), in particular to beware of the ten evil tendencies that arise from the love of pleasure (*kāma*) and the eight that arise from anger (*krodha*). The former (*kāma*) covers hunting (*mrgayā*), gambling (*akṣa*), sleeping in the day (*divāsvapna*), censure (*parivāda*), women (*striyah*), drunkenness (*mada*), the three kinds of music (*tauryatrika*; i.e. song, dance and instrumental music), and frivolous or fruitless travel (*vṛthātyā*; Manu VII.45,47). The denunciation of women here is in fact a warning against excessive sexual indulgence and, perhaps, the snares of domestic life. This is a typical example of how women are treated: not as individuals, but as symbols of all that is considered bad about sex and the family. The latter (*krodha*) covers scandal-mongering (*paiśunya*), violence (*sāhasa*), treachery (*droha*), envy (*īrṣyā*), slander (*asūyā*), seizure of property (*arthadūṣā*), and verbal and physical assault (*vāk-*, *dandapāruṣya*; Manu VII.48). Out of these, Manu isolates the seven worst — drunkenness, gambling, women and hunting (due to *kāma*); physical and verbal assault, and the unlawful seizure of property (due to *krodha*) — and describes them as 'prevalent everywhere'.<sup>46</sup> Thus, in the *Mahā-*

44. *na svāminā nisṛsto pi śūdro dāsyād vimucyate / nisargajam hi tat tasya kas tasmāt tad apohati* // Manu VIII.414.

45. *sadr̥ṣam cesṭate svasyāḥ prakṛter jñānavān api / prakṛtim yānti bhūtāni nigrahaḥ kīm karisyati* // Gītā III.33.

46. *sarvatraivānuṣaṅginah* (Manu VII.52), glossed by Kull. as *sarvasminn eva rājamandale prāyenāvasthitasya*, 'generally established in the entourage of every king'. Cf. Mit. on Yājñ.I.309–11.

*bhārata*, Vikarṇa seems to be excusing Yudhiṣṭhīra when he says that gambling is one of the four vices (*vyasanāni*) of kings (Mbh.II.61.20). Similarly, Carstairs describes how, in his village in Rajasthan, the Rajputs hold riotous parties at which *daru* is drunk 'till they become senseless' and summonses are sent to the 'drummer-girls'. Such behaviour, clearly a lapse of self-restraint, is seen as intrinsic to the *svabhāva* of their class: as one Rajput confesses, 'That is what Rajputs are like . . . uneducated, uncivilised, lusty men' (Carstairs 1971:109–10).

But the parallel with women is not exact. For Manu is merely stating the dangers inherent in the powers of kingship, and thus the pitfalls to be avoided by the conscientious king. Despite the many scriptural examples of such kingly behaviour (*parakṛti*, see note 53), neither Manu nor Kauṭilya ever state that kings are 'by nature' drunkards, gamblers, lechers, abusers of people and property, and so on. In Kaut.I.6.1–12, a sixfold classification of evil tendencies (lit. *ariṣadvarga*; 'enemies') that a king should cast out is illustrated by twelve examples (two of each), drawn largely from the *Mahābhārata* and the *purāṇas*. In each case, the king and his kingdom perish; in none of them is any generalization made about the inherent nature of kings. The problems awaiting the king are those inherent in his function; hence the warnings. Those awaiting women are inherent in their nature; hence the condemnation. However, the line between the dangers inherent in a function and the inherent characteristics of one who holds that function is far from clear, even in the case of kings.

The problem occurs when one's nature somehow fails to coincide with one's function. Normally, there is no problem. Certainly, *dharmaśāstra* does not admit of one. But if we look beyond the codification of *dharmaśāstra* to the vaguer realms of purāṇic mythology, the problem is there. For example, a cruel and devious nature is appropriate in the demon whose function is to obstruct the gods. As O'Flaherty explains, this is at first a purely structural opposition between the gods and the demons. Gods and demons are 'separate but equal': each does his own job; the gods encourage sacrifice, the demons destroy it. Later literature develops the moral emphasis: it is still true that the demons are only doing their job, but they are evil nonetheless (O'Flaherty 1976:64–5). Similarly, promiscuity is acceptable in the *apsaras* whose function is to seduce both men and gods. Thus Menakā, who is described as 'distinguished in the divine qualities of the *apsaras*' (*gunair divyair apsarasām . . .*

*viśisyase*), is sent by Indra to seduce Viśvāmitra away from his ascetic activities (Mbh.I.65.20ff.). When Viśvāmitra, falling for her charms, lusts after her, the *apsaras* is ‘blamelessly willing’ (*sa cāpy aicchad aninditā*; Mbh.I.66.7). For nature is appropriate to function; and both, being the result of *karma*, are ordained. Hence the whole of creation — including *yakṣa*, *rākṣasa*, *apsaras* and *asura* — is ordained to be as it is, each according to his or her *karma* (*yathā-karma*; Manu I.37,41).

But what if the demon wants to be good; for example, the demon king Bali who rules virtuously in hell (Vām.P.49.1–14); or Prahlāda, the pious demon who respects brahmins (Mbh.XII.124.19–63)? Both must be stopped. What if the *apsaras* aspires to the role of wife; for example, Urvaśi who becomes for a while the wife of Purūravas (R.V.X.95)? Such is the anomalous position of women. A demonic and promiscuous nature is ascribed as their lot due to the *karma* that produces a female birth (e.g. notes 6,9); yet they must suppress it all in favour of their function as wives. But whereas the (ordinary) demon or *apsaras* is faced with an ethical conflict — ordained evil (i.e. *svadharma*, including *svabhāva*) versus aspiration to goodness (*sanātanadharma*) — women are caught in a trap caused entirely by *karma*. Their position is more akin to that of the half-breed demon priest (cf. O’Flaherty 1976:137ff.). For both Viśvarūpa (see Mbh.XII.329.17–30; Bhāg.P.VI.7.2–40, etc.) and Vṛtra (see Sk.P.VI.269.16–60), a demonic *svabhāva* (their maternal heritage) is in direct opposition to the *svadharma* of brahmin priest (their paternal heritage). Quite apart from the fact that such unions are in accordance with the principles of *anuloma* marriage (cf. PVK.II.1.52), it is no surprise — in view of the orthodox attitude towards women — to find that in each case the demon priest is born of a demon mother and a brahmin father: inheriting demonic qualities from one’s mother fits. This pattern is reinforced by the widespread notion that a child’s heart is born of its mother (see section IV, pp. 289–90). Conflict is inevitable; both Viśvarūpa and Vṛtra are doomed. No wonder that Śrī, goddess of fortune and model for the Hindu wife (see section II A, pp.60–3) remarks that no one knows if she is demonic or divine, and she is called ‘intolerable’ (*duhsahā*; Mbh.XII.218.7–8). Theoretically, at least, her position is indeed intolerable. Hence the need for Tryambaka to address himself to the problem.

But how might such a problem be resolved? It seems that there is

a basic binary division of opinion: those who dispute that women are wicked, whether on rationalistic or apologetic grounds; and those who, while allowing exceptions at the level of individual or class, insist that they are.

Of the two ways of disputing the thesis that women are wicked, perhaps the least popular is the rationalistic approach. This is pursued, for example, by Varāhamihira in his classical work on omens,<sup>47</sup> the *Bṛhatśaṃhitā*, written in the sixth century A.D. In his section in praise of women (*strīprāśamsā*). Varāhamihira rejects the traditional view of the inherent sinfulness of women on the grounds that it is not true. First, he argues that the three religious goals of man—*dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*—all depend on women. For women provide men with sons; they are the incarnation of Lakṣmī, goddess of prosperity, in the home (cf. section II A, pp.59–64); and they are the source of sexual pleasure.<sup>48</sup> Next, he condemns those men who, having chosen the ascetic (*vairāgya*) path for themselves, seek to persuade others to follow them by denigrating women and ignoring their good qualities.<sup>49</sup> Finally, he asks what faults normally attributed to women are not committed—and more brazenly—by men (Br.Sam.74.6). For example, marital fidelity is the duty of both husband and wife, infidelity equally sinful in either case; since women are faithful more often than their husbands are, it follows that women are superior (Br.Sam.74.12). Verse 14 adds that men are faithful out of impotence (*uśuktyā*<sup>50</sup>), women by their strength of will (*dhairyena*). Similarly, a man utters endearments to his wife in private but forgets her when she dies: but when the man dies, his wife is so filled with gratitude for their life together that she embraces his corpse upon the fire (Br.Sam.74.16). Varāhamihira con-

47. Traditionally, *jyotiḥśāstra* is divided into three major subjects or *skandhas*: *saṃhitā* (omens or divination), *gaṇita* (astronomy) and *horā* (astrology). For a further classification of the areas covered by *jyotiḥśāstra*, see Pingree 1981.

48. *tadarthatm dharmaṁt hau sutavisayasya ukhyañi ca tato / gr̥he lakṣmyo mānyāḥ satatam abalū mānavibhavaiḥ* // Br.Sam.74.4c-d. For the joys of sex, enjoyed by every being from Brahmā to worms, see Br.Sam.74.18–20.

49. *ye 'py aṅganānāṁ pravadanti doṣān vairāgyamārgena gurūn vihāya / te durjanā me manaso vitarkah sadbhāvavākyāni na tāni tesām* // Br.Sam.74.5.

50. I have followed the reading given in the Bangalore and Calcutta edns. (*tatrāśaktiyā*, 74.14) rather than that in the Benares edn. (*tatra śaktiyā*, 73.14).

cludes that the abuse heaped on women is the measure not of the wickedness of women but of the audacity of wicked men (*dhārṣṭyam asādhūnām*). They are like thieves who, in the very act of stealing (*muṣṇatām iva caurānām*), jabber ‘Stop thief!’ to put the blame elsewhere.<sup>51</sup>

Yudhiṣṭhīra displays an equally rational attitude when he asks Bhīṣma to explain what is meant by the joint practice of religious duties (*sahadharma*) by husband and wife after marriage (Mbh.XIII.19.1). *Sahadharma* is said to lead to heaven but, as Yudhiṣṭhīra points out, husband and wife usually die at different times (Mbh.XIII.19.3b-4). Furthermore, the heaven or hell one goes to depends on the actions of each separate individual (Mbh.XIII.19.5). Even more to the point, both the *r̄sis* and the Veda declare women to be wicked (*anṛtāḥ*), so how can there be joint practice of *dharma* when the man is good and his wife is bad (Mbh.XIII.19.6-7)? Unfortunately, this eminently reasonable question does not elicit the answer it deserves. Bhīṣma embarks instead on the lengthy story of Aśvavakra and the venerable female ascetic<sup>52</sup> to whom he is sent in preparation for his marriage. Despite her advanced age, the ascetic repeatedly attempts to seduce him, assuring him all the while that for women there is no greater delight and no more destructive urge than sex (Mbh.XIII.20.59-60, 64-7); that even very old women are consumed by sexual passion (Mbh.XIII.22.4-5); that (a woman’s) sexual desire can never be overcome in all the three worlds (Mbh.XIII.22.9). At last, duly enlightened as to the true nature of women—including the evident fact that even after initiation and the taking of ascetic vows, even in extreme old age, a woman cannot overcome her lustful nature—Aśvavakra returns to marry his bride. Like Yudhiṣṭhīra, we have forgotten the question. The rational approach is once more engulfed by prejudice.

The apologetic approach is taken by the exponents of *mīmāṃsā*. The original concern of this school was the detailed investigation of *dharma*, primarily as enjoined in Vedic texts but extended to include *dharmaśāstra* too (see section I, p.41). For example, Jai-

51. *aho dhārṣṭyam asādhūnām ninditām anaghāḥ striyāḥ/ muṣṇatām iva caurānām tiṣṭha caure 'ti jalpatām//* Br.Śam.74.15.

52. . . tatra drakṣyasi vai striyum // tapasvinīm mahābhāgām vriddhām dīksām anuṣṭhitām // Mbh.XIII.19.23-4. As the story progresses, however, she is repeatedly referred to simply as ‘woman’ (*strī*).

1.3.1 - 2 rules that *asabda* (i.e. *smṛti*) is authoritative in so far as it is based on *śruti*; Śabara that *smṛti* is both authoritative (*pramāṇam smṛtih*; Śab. on Jai.I.3.2) and equal to the Veda (*vedatulyā hi smṛtih*, Śab.on Jai.VI.2.2; cf. Kum.Ta.I.3, *adhi.* 1-3). This in turn rests on the premise, first outlined in the *Jaiminīyasūtra* (approximately second century B.C.), that the Veda is eternal, self-existent and authoritative. Vedic utterances — all of which are held to be eternally valid — are divided into three kinds. The initial division is twofold: *mantra* and *brāhmaṇa* (Jai.II.1.32-3; Kum.Ta.II.1, *adhi.* 11). The latter (i.e. real meaning) subdivides into *vidhi* and *arthavāda*. Elsewhere, the Veda is divided into five parts: *vidhi*, *arthavāda*, *mantra*, *nāmadheya* and *pratisedha* (e.g. Arthas.p.3; cf. PVK V.ii. 1098, 1225). Mantras are technically valid but without any real meaning: the three *samhitās* (*Rg-*, *Yajur-* and *Sāmaveda*) are thus bracketed out as they do not need to be understood (cf. Kum.Ta.I.2, *adhi.*4). Ritual utterances consist of injunctions (*vidhi*) that must be taken literally (*karmakānda*): they refer to matters beyond our experience and so may not be questioned. Non-ritual utterances (glossed as *arthavāda*, exaggerated descriptions or explanations) must be understood in a non-literal sense (*jñānakānda*): they relate to matters within our experience and are therefore open to verification. If an *arthavāda* statement is contradicted by experience, then — in theory — preference should be given to the latter. However, since by definition the Veda contains no false statements, the contradiction itself is deemed an illusion: when the correct interpretation is found, it will cease to appear. The classic example is the statement that 'the sacrificial post is the sun' (*ādityo yupah*, Śab. on Jai.I.4.12.23; *Mīmāṃsākośa* II.p.909). The identity of post and sun is evidently false: it is therefore to be interpreted as a rhetorical device to glorify the post with a view to encouraging the appropriate sacrifice.

The interpretation laid on the repeated abuse of women is merely one more example of the kind of special pleading to which the exponents of *mīmāṃsā* are driven by their need to find all Vedic utterances true. *Arthavāda* is further divided into four subgroups: praise (*stuti*), intended to flatter the recipient into correct behaviour; condemnation (*nindā*), intended to frighten him/her into abandoning evil behaviour; the actions of others (*parakṛti*), to point moral lessons; and the customs of a previous age (*purākalpa*), acceptable

then but not now.<sup>53</sup> The rhetoric of praise is well known, especially in the case of brahmins. For example, a brahmin's words are never untrue (Vis.Sm.19.22); whether he is learned or not, a brahmin is a great deity (Manu IX.315); whatever defects exist in a *vrata*, in *tupas*, or in sacrificial ritual, they all disappear when brahmins support them (Par.Sm.VI.52); and so on.

The *mīmāṃsā* attitude to *nindā* is summed up by Śabara's maxim: condemnation (*nindā*) is not intended simply to condemn what is condemnable but to enjoin and praise its opposite.<sup>54</sup> According to this view, therefore, Manu is not claiming that women *are* promiscuous, uncaring, vain and lazy (e.g. notes 9–10) — for all such statements may be falsified by experience — but that they should endeavour to be faithful, loving, modest and hard-working. It is, in effect, a rhetorical device for social control.

This is an attractive interpretation. Certainly, Manu himself declares that only one who investigates the pronouncements of the *r̥sis* (*ārṣa*) and the teachings on *dharma* by means of reasoning that is consistent with the system of the Veda (glossed by the commentators as the rules of *mīmāṃsā*) can be said to understand *dharma*.<sup>55</sup> But, *pace* R.M.Das (e.g. 1962:12; where he claims that the *nindā* ruling makes it unnecessary to invoke different levels or periods of teaching to explain contradictory *ślokas*), the *mīmāṃsā* ruling on *nindā* does not automatically dissolve the problem. For, if *nindā* were a routine method of exhortation, then women would not be singled out to receive it. *Snātakas*, for example, would not merely be told to avoid acquiring wealth through forbidden occupations (Manu IV.15) or to avoid attachment to sensual pleasures (Manu IV.16); they would — as a purely rhetorical device — be condemned for having 'a natural tendency' to put wealth before duty, or for being un-

53. *Mīmāṃsāparibhāṣā* pp.27–8 (cited PVK V.ii.1242); Vāy.P.59.134–7. For *parakṛti* and *purākalpa*, see Jai.VI.7.26,30; Kum.Ta.I.2, *adhi*.I, *sū*.7. For some examples of *parakṛti*, see Manu X.105–8; Medh. on Manu II.151 and X.105–8. *Arthavāda* may also be given a threefold classification: *guṇavāda*, *anuvāda*, and *bhūtarthavāda* or *vidyamānavāda* (Medh. on Manu II.227; Śab. on Jai.I.4.23; Arthas.p.26).

54. *na hi nindā nindyaṃ ninditum prayujyate // kiṃ tarhi/ ninditād itarat pruṣṭasitum / tatra na ninditasya pratīṣedho gamyate kin tv itarasya vidhīḥ //* Śab. on Jai.II.4.20. Cf. Kum.Ta.I.2, *adhi*.1, *sū*.7.

55. *ārṣam dharmopadeśam ca veduśāstrāvirodhinā; yas tarkenānusandhatte sa dharmam veda netarah //* Manu XII.106. Cf. Medh., Kull., Rāgh..

duly attached to the senses 'by nature'. The various rulings on brahmins, *ksatriyas* and *vaiśyas*, or even students, hermits and ascetics, would include digressions on the 'natural dispositions' of the types involved, exhorting them to appropriate action by means of condemnation. But this is not the case. Even *sūdras* receive instructions or threats rather than direct condemnation. For example, they are told that they may not accumulate wealth (Manu X.129), that they may not hear, learn, recite or teach the Veda (Manu III.156, IV.99, X.127; Gaut.XII.4–6); but they are not actually described as being 'by nature' acquisitive or ambitious beyond their station. Only women are repeatedly instructed by means of direct condemnation. So selective an application of *nindā* suggests that it is in practice far more than a rhetorical device: it rests on prejudice.

Of the two main approaches supporting the thesis that women are wicked, the response of social psychology to prejudice can hardly be avoided. According to this kind of attitude, the 'good Jew' is merely the exception to an otherwise rigid antisemitism; the intelligent black merely the exception to an otherwise acknowledged racial inferiority. Neither individual constitutes a refutation of the prejudice concerning his class: the exception to it is marvelled at instead. In the realm of women, this is perhaps the majority view. All the examples that Tryambaka quotes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* fall into this category. Kausalyā complains that, unlike the faithful and devoted Sītā, most women are inconstant (notes 11,12). Agastya heaps abuse on women in general before exonerating Sītā from blame (notes 13–15). He also compliments Sītā by comparing her behaviour to the wicked ways of other women (note 16). In the *Mahābhārata*, Bhīṣma expounds this view. When Yudhiṣṭhira questions him concerning *sahadharma*, Bhīṣma reverts to prejudice, declaring (in the words of the female ascetic) that women are obsessed with sex: only one in a thousand, or perhaps even one in hundreds of thousands, will be devoted to her husband, a *pativrata* (Mbh.XIII.20.65). It is this same prejudice that persuades the common man today that 'the exception proves the rule' in the incorrect sense that it 'establishes' that rule instead of 'testing' or refuting it.

A dramatic example of this viewpoint is found in Yaśācandra's play entitled *Mudritakumudacandraprakarana*. The play is set in the court of Siddharāja Jayasimha, the great Cālukya king of northern Gujarat (A.D. 1094–1143). Act V presents a debate between the

leaders of the two rival sects of Jainism: Kumudacandra is the head of the Digambaras, Devasuri that of the Śvetāmbaras, while Siddharāja takes the chair. The issue under discussion is whether or not women can attain salvation. According to the Digambaras, they cannot; according to the Śvetāmbaras, they can. The latter view maintains that, while salvation is beyond the capacities of most women, it is within the reach of those few possessed of *sattva* (the quality of purity or goodness). Devasuri cites as evidence women from mythology (such as Sītā) and from the contemporary world (such as Mayanallā, the queen-mother, who ruled as regent for many years while Siddharāja was a boy). The discussion reveals the two opposing poles of prejudice: the reverence shown to a few individual idealized women (whether real or mythical), and the contempt shown to women in general (*Mudritakumudacandraprakarana* V; cf. Sandesara 1953:362–3).

The second approach in support of the thesis that women are wicked also allows exceptions, but on the level of a class or type of woman rather than an individual. This view takes up the radical—if theoretically illogical—distinction between a woman's nature (*strīsvabhāva*) and her ordained function as wife (*strīdharma*), and pits one against the other. All fear and condemnation is directed at women as biological creatures, representatives of wild or untamed nature. Hence the pollution taboos surrounding the physical aspects of being female: menstruation, sexuality, childbirth. Hence the condemnation of female emotion and passion. All praise is directed at women as social entities, paragons of virtue in whom the biological is tamed and controlled. This tension between 'culture' and 'nature', between 'society' and 'the wild', is a familiar one to social anthropologists (e.g. E. Ardener 1975; Okely 1975). For any class, race or even nation outside the self-imposed barriers of a given group may be classified as 'the wild'; women, gypsies or the Japanese. Both fascinating and terrifying, women as women are condemned. But if they allow themselves to be controlled by their ordained function as wives, the condemnation reserved for women no longer applies.

This is evidently Tryambaka's own advice. If, by the appropriate behaviour, women transform themselves into devoted wives, then the inherent evil of their female natures—the 'inauspicious marks' (*alakṣaṇam*) of a female birth—will be annulled (note 41). Tryambaka's treatise describes precisely how this miracle may be wrought.

## IV. The Duties Common to (all) Women (*strīnām sādhāraṇā dharmāḥ*; Sdhp.22r.8–48v.6)

I shall present the remainder of Tryambaka's lengthy treatise in the form of a summary. This fourth section is divided into nine major topics, following Tryambaka's own rather loose subdivisions.

### *General rulings on behaviour* (Sdhp.22r.9–25r.10)

Many of the quotations in this section have been quoted verbatim in earlier ones. For example, a woman should not expose her navel, ankles or breasts (Sdhp.22r.10–23v.1 = Sdhp.7r.5–6, section IIA, p.90, note 69). She should wear *haridrā*, collyrium, *kunkuma*, *sindūra*, a short-sleeved bodice and so on (Sdhp.22v.5–7 = Sdhp.7r.9–7v.1; section IIA, p.96, note 73). Without being told to do so, she should make ready all the items for worship (Sdhp.23r.7–9 = Sdhp.12v.6–8, 4r.3–4; section IIC, p.179, note 35). She should eat her husband's left-overs, saying 'This is a great *prasāda*!' (Sdhp.23r.9–10 = Sdhp.18r.6–7; section IIC, p.222, note 108). She should never be alone, nor bathe naked (Sdhp.23v.7 = Sdhp.6v.8; section IIA, p.84, note 63); and so on.

Others reinforce rulings already given and are discussed in the relevant sections. For example, she should never answer back even when scolded, nor show her anger or resentment even when beaten (Sdhp.23r.4–5; see section IID, pp.242–3). She should not go to festivals or public gatherings, on pilgrimages, or to such things as weddings or public shows (Sdhp.23v.2; see section IIB, p.137, note 38). If she wants to bathe in a sacred place, she should drink the water used to bathe her husband's feet, for her own husband is superior to even Śaṅkara or Viṣṇu (Sdhp.23v.10–24r.1; see section IIB, p.137, note 39). The good wife never loves another man whether he bribes her with fine things, begs her humbly, or seizes her by force; if he looks at her, she does not meet his eyes; if he smiles at her, she does not smile back; if he speaks to her, she does not answer (Sdhp.24.1–5; see section IIC, p.175); and so on.

In addition, we may note the following rulings that are representative of this section. According to a quotation attributed to Āśvalā-

yana, the qualities of the ideal wife include 'devoted service to her parents-in-law and, especially, to her husband; co-operation with her husband in religious matters (*dharma-kārye 'nukūlatvam*); restraint in economic matters (*arthakārye 'pi samyamam*); bold confidence in sexual matters (*prāgalbhyaṁ kāmakāryeṣu*; cf. section IID, pp.237-8); cleanliness of body, an auspicious presence, and a gentle tongue'.<sup>1</sup> With regard to her husband, according to a quotation from the *Rāmāyana*, 'even if he is wicked, licentious or poverty-stricken, he is — for inherently noble women — the supreme deity (*paramam̄ daivatam̄*)',<sup>2</sup> and her *guru*.<sup>3</sup> 'When she sees him returning home from outside, therefore', according to a quotation attributed to the [*Smṛti-]saṃgraha*], 'she should lovingly hurry to bring him water, food, betel, and a fan to cool him; then she should do such things as massage his feet and speak in an engaging or amorous way (*cātuvacanaiḥ*) so as to drive away his cares'.<sup>4</sup> The section ends with a well-known *subhāṣita* (attributed here to the [*Smṛti-]saṃgraha*]). 'A father gives within limits, a brother and son as well; but a husband's giving is unlimited — what wife will not worship him?'.<sup>5</sup>

### *Things to be avoided* (varjanīyāḥ ; Sdhp.25r.10–25v.6)

This is in fact an artificial subdivision. For although the quotations do indeed spell out the activities a good wife should avoid, the

1. āśvalāyanāḥ // bhaktiṁ śvaśurayoh kuryāt patyuś cāpi viśeṣataḥ / *dharma-kārye [']nukūlatvam arthakārye 'pi samyamam// prāgalbhyaṁ kāmakāryeṣu śucitvam nijavigrahe / mangalam satatam patyuh satatam priyabhāṣanam//* Sdhp.22v.3-5 (Āśv.) < Sm.M.I.p.158 (Vyāsa).

2. ayodhyākāṇḍe sūtāṁ praty anasūyāvākyam // Sdhp.24v.9-10. duḥ[hi]śilah kāmaवृत्तो vā dhanair vā purivarjitāḥ / strīnām āryasvabhāvānām paramam̄ daivatam̄ patih // Sdhp.25r.1-2 (Rām.) < Rām.II.109.24. Cf. Manu V.154.

3. vidūm̄ tu māmāpy etad yathā nāryāḥ patir guruh // Sdhp.25r.5 (Rām.) < Rām.II.110.2b.

4. *saṃgraha* // bāhyād āyāntam ālokya tvaritā ca jalāśanaiḥ / tāmbūlavajajaiś caiva pādasamvāhanādibhiḥ // tathaiva cātuvacanaiḥ khedasamnodanaiḥ paraīḥ / yā priyam̄ priyayet prītyā trilokī prīnitā tayā // Sdhp.25r.7-9 (*saṃgraha*)? See also Sdhp.31r.7-8 (from section IV, pp.280-1) < Mbh. III.223.6.

5. mitam dadāti hi pitā mitam bhrātā mitam sutah / amitasya hi dātāram̄ bhartāram̄ kā na pūjayed // Sdhp.25r.9-10 (*saṃgraha*) < Subh.378/4 (śocati for pūjayed); Mbh.XII.145.6 (mātā for bhrātā preferred reading; twenty-one MSS read bhrātā incl. one MS from the TMSSM library); Sk.P.III.2.7. 47c-48a (sutam̄ sutah for mitam̄ sutah). See also Sdhp.53v.9-10, from section V.

section remains in effect a continuation of the earlier one on general behaviour. Three *ślokas* in particular are worth recounting here, all of them unattributed by Tryambaka.

'These are the six things that corrupt women (*nārīnām dūṣanāni ṣat*): drinking; keeping bad company; deserting one's husband (glossed by Tryambaka as "sleeping in the house of someone other than one's husband"); roaming around (on one's own); sleeping (glossed by Tryambaka as "sleeping in the daytime"); and staying (i.e. spending time) in other people's homes.'<sup>6</sup> Some of the aspects involved in 'keeping bad company' — that is, the men and women with whom the good Hindu wife may not properly associate — are discussed in section II C, pp.170–6). Since it is deemed necessary to begin each day by meditating with one's husband (see section II A, pp.52–4), it makes sense that the conscientious wife never spends the night away from him. The question of whether or not she may sleep in the hottest part of the day after the midday meal is discussed briefly on page 49.

'These are the six things that cause women and *sūdras* to fall (*strīśūdrapatanāni ṣat*): recitation (or repetition, i.e. of sacred texts; *japa* [*h*]); austerities (*tapas*); going on pilgrimages; renunciation (*pravrajyā*); the chanting of mantras (*mantrasādhanam*); and the worship of deities (*devatārādhanam*).'<sup>7</sup> To this *śloka* we may add a similar one taken from section V, and attributed there to Āśvalāyana. '*Sūdras* are enjoined by Brahmā to serve the twice-born always, and likewise women to serve their own husbands. Women who are devoted to their husbands should never engage in *japa* recitation, austerities (*tapas*), offerings into fire (*homa*), religious donations (*dāna*), or any other religious observance (or vow; *vrata*) or ritual (*makha*), as long as their husbands are alive.'<sup>8</sup> The important implications of these *ślokas* have been discussed in the

6. *atha varjanīyāḥ* // Sdhp.25r.10. *pānam durjanasamśargah patyā ca viraho 'tanam / svapno 'nyageharāś ca nārīnām dūṣanāni ṣat* // Sdhp.25r.10-11 < Manu IX.13 (*nārīsamādūṣanāni* for *nārīnām dūṣanāni*). *patyā virahah pati-grhā[d] gṛhāntaraśayanam* // *svapn[o] divāsvāpah* // Sdhp.25r.11.

7. *japas tapas tīrthayātrā pravrajyā mantrasādhanam / devatārādhanam ceti strīśūdrapatanāni ṣat* // Sdhp.25v.1 < Atri 135b-136a (*caiva* for *ceti*); Sm.M.I.p.158 (*tīrthasevā* for *tīrthayātrā*; *caiva* for *ceti*; Atri); Sm.M.II.p.390. See also Sdhp.59r.2-3, from section V (*caiva* for *ceti*; Manu).

8. *āśvalāyano 'pi* // Sdhp.58r.2. *sūdrāṇām dvijaśuśrūṣā vihitā brahmaṇā yathā / strīnām svabhartuśuśrūṣā tathaiva vihitā sadā // na syēj japas tapo hom[o] dānavratamatkādikam / strīnām patiparāṇām tu patyau jīvati kīñ cana* // Sdhp.58r.3-5 (Āśv.), from section V < ?

relevant sections. For example, the recitation of mantras (*japa*, *mantrasādhanā*) is dealt with in the sections on *devatādhyānam* (IIA, pp.52–4), *gomatimantra* (pp.67–9), *snānam* (pp.82–8), *sam-dhyā* (IIB, pp.105–7), *arghyadānam* (pp.149–55), *devapūja* (IIC, pp.178–80), *vaiśvadeva* (pp.180–3), and *strīsvabhāva* (III, pp.246–72). Going on pilgrimages (*tīrthayātra*) is discussed in section IIB (pp.132–41); renunciation (*pravrajyā*) in the section on *parapurusa* (pp.170–6); the worship of deities (*devatārādhanam*) in the sections on *devatādhyānam* (pp.52–4), the goddess Śrī (pp.60–3), *devapūjā* (pp.178–80), *vaiśvadeva* (180–3) and the goddess Jyeṣṭhā (pp.227–9). Offerings into the fire (*homa*) are described in section IIB (pp.102–7, *homa*; and pp.107–15, the role of the wife); religious donations (*dāna*) in the sections on managing the household accounts (pp.168–70) and *strīdhanam* (IV, pp.277–80); religious vows or observances (*vrata*) in the sections on the role of the wife (IIB, pp.107–15) and *strīsvabhāva* (III, pp.246–72). The exclusion of women from Vedic education and ritual sacrifice in general is discussed in sections I (pp.34–9) and IIB (pp.107–15). The assertion that, for women, household duties are the equivalent of performing the sacrifice is considered in the sections on daily duties (*strīñām āhnikam*, pp.44–50) and household tasks (IIC, pp.168–76); and the idea that serving one's husband is the equivalent of the Vedic student serving his *guru* in the section on paying obeisance to the husband (IIC, pp.162–3). The question of what religious practices are open to a woman after her husband has died is discussed in the sections on *sahagamanavidhi* (IV, pp.291–8) and *vidhavādharmaḥ* (IV, pp.298–304).

Lastly, 'nothing should be done independently (*svātantryena*) by a woman, either as a child, a young girl or an old woman, even in her (own) home.'<sup>9</sup> For, as Manu himself explains in the crucial following verses (omitted here by Tryambaka), she should be subject to her father in childhood, to her husband in her married life, and to her sons in widowhood (Manu V.148; see section IV, pp.299–300). The rest of this brief section is predictable.

### *Women's property (strīdhanam; Sdhp.25v.6–27r.4)*

Some aspects of this topic are discussed briefly in the approp-

9. *bālayā vā yuvat�ā vā vrddhayā vāpi yoṣitā / na svātantryena kartavyam kāryam kimcid gr̥hesv api //* Sdhp.25v.4–5< Manu V.147; Sm.M.I.p.157

riate sections. Most important, perhaps, is the notion that the possession of property is a necessary prerequisite for the performance of sacrifice; and thus that the ineligibility of women to own anything (since they themselves are 'owned'; see note 10) means that they have no right to perform sacrifice (see section I). In addition to this, the question of whether or not a wife may earn money is raised in section II B (pp.132–41); the wife's responsibility to manage the household accounts in section II C (pp.168–70); her right to make religious donations (*dāna*) in sections II C (pp.168–70) and IV (pp.274–6). But such passages merely touch on what is an extremely complex topic pursued in great detail in numerous commentaries and digests. The problem here is how one may reconcile apparently conflicting rulings. Briefly, Tryambaka proceeds as follows.

On the one hand, there are a number of rulings that deny women the rights of ownership, inheritance and the independent disposal of property. According to an unattributed quotation (in fact taken from Manu), for example, 'these three—a wife, a son and a slave—are held to be without property ([*a*]dhanāḥ): whatever they acquire (or earn) is the property of him to whom they belong.'<sup>10</sup> According to śruti, women are powerless (*nirindriyā*) and without inheritance (*adāyādiḥ*; Sdhp.25v.7–8). According to another quotation from Manu (attributed here to Kātyāyana), 'women should not set aside anything (for their own use) from the property of the joint family or even from their own property (*svakād api ca vittād*) without the permission of their husbands.'<sup>11</sup> Regarding a woman's lack of independence in such matters (*tatra svātantryābhāve*), Tryambaka quotes Hārīta. 'A woman is not entitled to independence (*na strī svātantryam arhati*) with regard to giving (*dāne*) or throwing (*dhamane*; lit. 'blowing' things) away, or with regard to any particular religious matter, or with regard to taking (*ādāne*; i.e.

(Manu); Sm.C.III.ii.p.584 (Manu); Subh.366/15 (*kimcid kāryam* for *kāryam* *kimcid*).

10. *bhāryā putrāś ca dāsaś ca traya ete 'dhanāḥ smṛtāḥ / yat te samadhi-*  
*gacchanti yasyaite tasya tau' dhanam // Sdhp.25v.6–7 < Manu VIII.416*  
*(evādhanah for ete 'dhanāḥ; yasya te for yasyai te). See also Sdhp.26[1]*  
*r.8–9; 26[1]v.3–4.*

11. *na nirhāram striyah kuryuḥ kuṭumbād bahumadhyagāt / svakād api*  
*ca vittād dhi svasya bhartur anājñayā // Sdhp.26r.9–10 (Kāty.) < Manu IX.199.*  
*See also Sdhp.25v.5–6, from section IV, pp.274–6; Sdhp.26[1]r.4 (Yājñ.).*

something for her own use) or disposing (*visarge*; i.e. of things in general).<sup>12</sup>

On the other hand, according to another quotation attributed to Manu, there are six kinds of 'women's property'. 'That which is given (to her) in the vicinity of the fire (at the marriage ceremony); that which is (given to her) when (she is) taken to her new husband's home; that which (is given to her by her husband) in the act of love; and that which (is given to her) by her mother, brother and father—these are known as the sixfold property of women (*śadvidham strī-dhanam*).'<sup>13</sup> (For the application of the term *strīdhanam* to property acquired by the husband from the wife's family at the time of marriage, i.e. dowry, see Derrett 1984:185.) Tryambaka also points out that, according to Āpastamba, 'If the wife makes an occasional religious donation (*naimittike dāne*) when her husband is away, this is not called "theft".'<sup>14</sup> Similarly, the epics frequently show women (such as Kausalyā) who are described elsewhere as virtuous and yet who make donations apparently in their own right.

Tryambaka's conclusion follows Rāghavānanda's comment on Manu VIII.416 (quoted above, see note 10). The so-called 'independence' of the wife, like that of the slave, is no independence at all. For the wife's right to her property implies the ownership of her husband too ((*bhāryādhane bhartur api svāmitravāvagamāt*; Sdhp.26 [1]v.2–3). What then is the difference between a wife's 'own property' and that which is common to both wife and husband? With regard to the distribution of property owned jointly by the two of them, the wife needs her husband's permission but he does not need hers. With regard to the sixfold *strīdhana*, however, the right of ownership is all hers; but she still needs her husband's permission to exercise it.

**12.** *tatra svātantryābhāve hārītaḥ // dāne vā dhamane(?) vā 'pi dharmārthe  
vā viṣesataḥ / ādāne vā visarge vā na strī svātantryam arhati // iti //* Sdhp.26 [1]2–3 (Since MS T<sub>1</sub> is hard to decipher, I have followed the reading *dāne vā dhamane vā 'pi* of MSS T<sub>2</sub> and T<sub>3</sub>; i.e. in preference to the readings *dāne vā dhamanam ne vā 'pi* of MS M and *dāne bādhamate vā 'pi* of PT)<? Cf. Manu IX.3.

**13.** *tad āha manuḥ // adhyagny adhyāv[ā]hanikam dattam ca prītikarmani /  
mātrbhrātrprāptam śadvidham strīdhanam smṛtam // iti //* Sdp.25v.9–10 (Manu)< Manu IX.194. See also Sdhp.26v.6; Sdhp.26[1]r.6–7.

**14.** *āpastambo 'pi // na hi bhartrivipravāse naimittike dāne steyam upudi-  
śanti // iti //* Sdhp.2–3 (Āp.) < ?

For his part, he may use her property only if he has her permission. Indeed, as Tryambaka explains, ‘a husband should never seize (control of) his wife’s property as long as she is alive; if he does so by force (*balāt*), he should be punished by the king.’<sup>15</sup> The quotation that follows—attributed to Mādhava—extends the ruling to a woman’s other male relatives. ‘Neither husband, son, father nor brother has the power to take or dispose of a woman’s property (*strīdhana*); if any one of them makes use of (lit. “enjoys”) a woman’s property without her permission (lit. “by force”), he should be made to give it back with interest (*savrddhikam*) and he should incur punishment (*dandam*; e.g. a fine).’<sup>16,17</sup>

15. *strīdhanam tasyām jīvavatyām bhartrā na grāhyam balāt grahane rājñā dandya ity āha mādhavah* // Sdhp.26[2]r.2-3.

16. *na bhartā naiva ca suto na pitā bhrātarō na ca / ādāne vā visarge vā strīdhane prabhaviṣṇavah* // *yadi tv ekataro 'py esām strīdhanam bhaksayed balāt / savriddhikam pradāpyah syād dāndam caiva samāpnuyāt* // *iti* // Sdhp. 26[2]r.3-5 (Mādhava) < Dh.kośa I.ii.p.1458 (hy ekataro for tv ekataro; savrddhīm pratidāpyah for savrddhikam pradāpyah; Kāty.).

17. This important ruling was quoted in a recent judgement of the Indian Supreme Court hailed by the media as ‘an unequivocal victory’ for women’s rights and ‘a major break-through in dowry disputes’. Sunil Sethi’s article, published in *India Today* in April 1985, opens with the following. ‘For some time now the Supreme Court has acquired a healthy reputation for passing judgements heavily weighted in favour of women’s rights. Last fortnight that reputation was amply reinforced when the court passed a landmark judgement declaring that all gifts made over to a woman at the time of her marriage remained her absolute private property till the end; and that her husband, or any other, had no right to them without her sanction. . . . But the Supreme Court, in fact, was upholding the right of a woman to retain nuptial gifts as enshrined in the ancient concept of *stridhan* (woman’s wealth) first mooted by the Vedic sage Manu. Quoting from classical treatises on Hindu law, the 25-page judgement . . . noted that “neither the husband, nor the son, nor the father, nor the brother, has power to use or to alienate the legal property of a woman. And if any of them shall consume such property against her own consent he shall be compelled to pay its value with interest to her . . .”. . . In other words, gifts of cash, ornaments, silver, clothing — or anything that constitutes dowry — may be entrusted by the wife to the husband to keep but he would be deemed “guilty of criminal breach of trust” if he either misappropriates or refuses to return what the court regards “as the absolute and personal property of his wife”.’ (Sethi 1985:57.)

Tryambaka explains that when the epics describe virtuous women such as Kausalyā or Sītā giving things away, the permission of their husbands is assumed. For without the husband's permission (*bhartur ājñām vinā*), the wife should not give anything away, even to her own relatives (*naiva svabandhubhyo diśed dhanam*; Sdhp.27r.2–3).

### *In praise of the pativrata* (Sdhp.27r.4–33v.8)

This section consists almost entirely of quotations, including lengthy passages quoted verbatim from the *Mahābhārata* and the *Agnipurāṇa*. Many of the individual rulings are also given earlier in the relevant contexts. In this section, apart from the theme of the proper behaviour of wives, there is virtually no thread of argument.

The first series of *ślokas* are attributed to 'other *smṛti* texts' (Sdhp.27r.5–27v.4; *smṛtyantaram*), the second to the *Agnipurāṇa* (Sdhp.27v.4–10). Both merely reinforce points that Tryambaka has made elsewhere.

The third series consists of two entire chapters quoted verbatim from Draupadī's conversation with Satyabhāmā in the *Vana-parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* (Sdhp.27v.10–31v.7< Mbh.III.222–3). Satyabhāmā asks Draupadī how she has managed to gain such control over her husbands (the five Pāṇḍavas) that they are never angry with her.<sup>18</sup> What is her secret? Is it the result of 'a religious observance (or vow; *vrata*); (the practice of) austerities (*tapas*); bathing (in sacred waters; *snānam*); (reciting) a mantra (or spell); (using) herbs (with magical properties); the (magic) power of knowledge (*vidyāvīryam*); the (magic) power attained by (using special) roots (*mūlavīryam*); *japa* recitation; offerings into the fire (*homa*); or the (tantric rituals described in) *āgama* texts (*āgamā[h]*)'?<sup>19</sup> Draupadī rejects all such methods as appropriate only to wicked women (cf. pp.274–6 above); for drinking the water used to bathe one's husband's feet as the proper alternative to bathing in a sacred place, see section IIB, pp.134–8. 'My husbands have come under my

18. *katham ca vaśagās tubhyam na kupyanti ca te śubhe // tava vaśyā hī satatam pāṇḍavāḥ priyadarśane //* Sdhp.28r.5 (Mbh.) < Mbh.III.222.4c–5a.

19. *vratacaryā tapo vāpi snānamantrausadhāni vā / vidyāvīryam mūla-vīryam japahomāgamās tathā //* Sdhp.28r.6–7 (Mbh.) < Mbh.III.222.6 (japahomas tathāgadāḥ for japahomāgamās tathā).

control,' she explains, 'as a result of my attentiveness, my eternal readiness to serve, and my devoted services to my elders.'<sup>20</sup> Draupadī then proceeds to enumerate all the familiar qualities of the *pativrata*. They may be summed up in one *śloka*. 'There is no deity like him — that is, like one's husband — in all the god-filled worlds; when he is pleased, through his grace (*prasādāt*) all desires are fulfilled; when angered, he kills.'<sup>21</sup>

The fourth set of rulings, attributed to the *Agnipurāṇa*, is taken from Kṛṣṇa's advice to his younger sister, Subhadrā, on the eve of her marriage (Sdhp.31v.7–32r.2). His main point is that she should 'forget all about us (i.e. her own family), even her mother and father. For the husband alone is a woman's family; the husband alone is a woman's wealth; the husband alone is a woman's religious duty, and her chief austerity.'<sup>22</sup> The importance of forgetting one's own family and never returning to one's father's house is taken up again at some length later in this section (p.288).

The fifth passage is taken, with some omissions, from the conversation between Umā and Maheśvara in the *Anuśāsanaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* (Sdhp.32r.2–33r.2 < Mbh.XIII.134.32–3,34b–5, 36b, 38–41, 43, 45–52a, 53–5). It opens with Umā's statement that 'the religious duty of a woman (*strīdharmah*) is created at the outset, that is, at the time of marriage, by her relatives: in the presence of the (marriage) fire, she becomes her husband's partner in the religious sphere (*sahadharmaśarī*).'<sup>23</sup> Umā then enumerates the qualities of the ideal wife who 'participates in the religious duty of her husband' (*dharmaśarī*, *dharmaśāgī*), who 'takes his vow

20. *avadhānena subhage nityotthitatayaiva ca / bhartāro vaśagā mahyam  
guruśūrūṣayaiva ca //* Sdhp.29v.7–8 (Mbh.) < Mbh.III.222.37 ('*īthānatayaiva*  
for '*īthitatayaiva*; '*śūrūṣayaiva* for '*śūrūṣayaiva*).

21. *naitādṛśāmī daivatam asti satye sarveṣu lokeṣu sadaiva[!l]esu / yathā  
patis tuṣyati sarvakāmā labhyāḥ prasādāt kupitaś ca hanyāt //* Sdhp.31r.2–3  
(Mbh.) < Mbh.III.223.2 (*patis tasya hi* for *patis tuṣyati*; *prasāde* for *prasādāt*).  
Cf. note 24.

22. *mātaram pitaram vāpi māsmān smara kadācana // patir eva striy[ā]  
bandhuh patir eva striy[ā] dhanam / patir eva striy[ā] dharmah patir eva mahat-  
tapah /* Sdhp.32r.1–2 (Ag.P.) < ?

23. *strīdharmah pūrvam evāyam vivāhe bandhubhiḥ kṛtaḥ / sahadharma-  
śarī bhartur bhavaty agnisāmpataḥ //* Sdhp.32r.3–4 (Mbh.) < Mbh.XIII.  
134.32 (*pūrva evāyam* for *pūrvam evāyam*). Cf. section I, notes 15,16 (Manu  
II.67).

as her own' (*pativrata*, *pativratabhāgīnī*; see pp.50, 107–15 etc.). Above all, 'the good woman always regards her husband as a god . . . For the husband is god for women; the husband is family; the husband is the goal. There is no goal, no deity like the husband.'<sup>24</sup>

Umā also touches on what is a new theme for Tryambaka. 'If for some reason a husband tells (his wife to do) something that is (normally) not to be done (*akāryam*), something that is against *dharma* (*adharmam*), or something that causes death (*prāṇanāśanam*), then—even if he is poor or sick or in trouble or in the midst of enemies, even if he is suffering from a brahmin's curse (e.g. Pāṇḍu; see section V, pp.309–10)—she should do it without hesitation, bearing in mind the (special) duties (enjoined) for difficult times (*āpaddharmān*).'<sup>25</sup> Tryambaka returns to this important issue in his conclusion.

The final extended quotation is taken, with few omissions, from Bhīṣma's conversation with Yudhiṣṭhīra on the behaviour of good women in the *Anusāsanaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* (Sdhp. 33r.2–33v.8 < Mbh.XIII.12.1–3a, 6b–21; see also section III, pp. 247–8, 268). Bhīṣma in turn recalls another conversation: that between Sumanā and Śāṇḍilī, the renowned *pativrata*, when the two women meet in heaven (*devaloka*). Asked what meritorious behaviour has brought her there, Śāṇḍilī stresses that 'it was not by wearing the ochre robe (*kaṣāya*; i.e. of the renunciate), the bark garments (*valkala*; i.e. of the hermit), the shaven head (*munḍā*; i.e. of certain types of religious mendicants, or the widow), or the matted locks (*jaṭilā*; i.e. of the ascetic) that [she] became a deity (i.e. entitled to be in *devaloka*).'<sup>26</sup> She simply followed the dictates of her religious duty to her husband (*patidharma*; Sdhp.33v.7 < Mbh.XIII. 124.21). Tryambaka's repeated insistence that the good wife should

24. *devavat satatam sādhvī bhartāram pratipaśyati // patir hi devo nārīnām patir bandhuḥ patir gatiḥ / patyā samā gatir nāsti daivatam vā yathā patiḥ //* Sdhp.32r.5–6, 32v.8–9 (Mbh.) < Mbh.XIII.134.34b,51 (yā bhartāram pra-paśyati for bhartāram pratipaśyati). Cf. Subh.p.366, *sativaraṇam* 14.

25. *yady akāryam adharmāṇi vā yadi vā prāṇanāśanam / patir brūyād daridro vā vyādhito vā katham cana// āpanno ripusamsthō vā brahmaśāpār-dito 'pi va / āpaddharmān anuprekṣya tat kāryam aviśākayā //* Sdhp.32v. 9–33r.1 < Mbh.XIII. 134.53–4.

26. *nāham kūṣāyavasanā nāsmi valkaladhārinī / na ca munḍā na jaṭilā bhuktvā devatvam āgatā //* Sdhp.33r.6–7 (Mbh.) < Mbh.XIII.124.8 (nāpi for nāsmi).

have nothing to do with female renouncers, mendicants or ascetics is discussed in more detail in section II C (pp. 170–6). The question of whether or not the widow should shave her head is dealt with below (pp. 303–4).

*The religious duties of the menstruating woman (rajasvalādharmāḥ; Sdhp. 33v.8–40r.3)*

This is a somewhat loosely structured section that touches on most of the points normally made concerning the menstruating woman. She herself is referred to in a variety of ways that reflect the range of implications usually associated with her condition. For example, she is described as 'full of impurity' (*rajasvalā*); 'one whose clothes are stained' (*malavadvāsas*); 'overflowing with menstrual blood' (*ārtavābhiplutā*); 'bearing flowers' or 'in bloom' (*puspīnī*, *puspavatī*); 'one who has the duty or condition of women' (*strīdharmīñjī*); and so on.

The first and most important point that Tryambaka makes is that 'the menstruating woman is impure for three (days and) nights.'<sup>27</sup> In a later passage, he produces a famous quotation, attributed to the [Smṛti-]samgraha. 'On the first day, she is declared to be (as polluting as) an untouchable; on the second, (as polluting as) a brahmin-killer; on the third, (as polluting as) a washerwoman; on the fourth day, she is purified.'<sup>28</sup> The significance of this impurity, and the traditional tracing of its origins to the story of Indra's brahminicide, are discussed in section III. For the symbolic 'menstrual pollution' of rivers and the earth, see Salomon 1984:157–8, 173–5.

In this section, Tryambaka uses a quotation attributed to the *Smṛticandrikā* to explain that the menstruating woman loses two kinds of blood, one far more polluting than the other. 'That which occurs to women at the wrong time (i.e. outside the crucial three days described above) men call "blood" (*raktam*); that which occurs at the

27. *atha rajasvalādharmāḥ* // Sdhp.33v.8. *tatra vasiṣṭhah* // *trirātram rajasvalā rajasvalāśucir bhavati* // Sdhp.33v.8–9 (Vas.) < Vas.V.6; Dh.kośa I.iii. I.iii.p.1977.

28. *prathame 'hani candālī dvitīye brahmaghātakī / trītye rajakī proktā caturthe 'hani sudhyati* // Sdhp.36r.2–3 (incl. insert above; Samgraha) < Par.Sm.VII.18 (*brahmaghātakī* for *"ghātakī"*).

right time (i.e. within those three days) is called "menstrual blood" (*rajas*); as a result of the latter alone, she becomes impure. For women (who continue to bleed from the fourth) until the twelfth day, the purification (appropriate) for urine is required; a ritual bath is (prescribed for those who bleed from the twelfth) until the eighteenth day; after that, she is (again) impure for three days (i.e. it is assumed that another cycle has begun).<sup>29</sup> Another quotation, attributed to Aṅgiras, provides a more detailed definition. 'The best of wise men know that the menstruation (*rajas*) of women is of four kinds: that which is due to illness (*rogajam*); that which is due to (a disturbance of) the emotions (*rāgajam*); that which is due to (an imbalance of) the humours (*dhātujam*); and that which occurs at the right time (of the monthly cycle; i.e. during the crucial three days).'<sup>30</sup> Both Aṅgiras and Tryambaka conclude that only the fourth type of bleeding makes a woman ritually impure (*aśuddhā*; Sdhp.35v.5). One can only speculate on the reasons behind this careful categorization of the polluting powers of menstrual fluid: the importance of establishing a pregnancy certainly (see below, pp.287-8); a desire to take the initiative out of the hands of woman perhaps; or merely an obsession with classification.

Secondly, there are innumerable prohibitions relating to the menstruating woman (Sdhp.33v.9-34r.4). For example, she should not use collyrium for her eyes (cf. section II A, pp.96-101), comb her hair (cf. section II A, pp.96-7), massage her body with oil or ointments (cf. sections II A, pp.96-7, and II D, pp.236-45, or take a bath (cf. section II A, pp.82-8). She should not clean her teeth (cf. section II A, pp.78-82), or cut her nails. She should not 'touch fire' (*nāgninī spr̄śet*, i.e. cook; cf. sections II A, pp.100-1, and II C, pp.198-205). She should eat only those foods which are fit for sacrifice (*havisyam*; cf. Dh.kośa III.ii.1180, 1216, 1265, 1270-3, 1287-8 etc.; PVK II.i. p.681) and she should use either her own cupped hands (*añjalinā vā pibet*; i.e. like a renouncer, cf. *pāni-pātrin*, *kārapātrin*, Yatidh.32.85; Olivelle 1977:37, 164-8) or a

29. *tathā candrikāyām // akāle yad bhavet strīnām raktam āhur manī-  
śīnah / kāle tu yad rajaḥ proktam tasmāt tatraiva sāśuciḥ // ā dvādaśāhā-  
nārīnām mūtrava[cl] chaucam iṣyate / āśṭādaśāhā[t] snānam syāt trirātram  
parato 'śuciḥ // Sdhp.35v.6-9 (Sm.C) < ?*

30. *yadāhāṅgirāḥ // rajaś caturvidham jñeyam rogajam rāgajam tathā /  
dhātujarī kālajam ceti yositām tu budhottamaīḥ // Sdhp.35v.3-4 (Aṅg.) < ?*

copper or iron vessel (or, according to some authorities, an unbaked earthenware vessel or one made of leaves; see section IIC, pp.217-21). She should certainly not eat food from her husband's plate (*patipātre 'nnam*; cf. *ucchiṣṭa*, section IIC, pp.221-7). She should not even look at her husband (*pasyed api patim na ca*). She should not sleep on a high bed (cf. section IID, pp.239-40). She should not spin thread, plait or cut rope, or dig in the earth. She should not cry, laugh, talk a great deal, hear loud noises, run, roam about, exert herself, sleep in the daytime, sit in a draught; and so on and so forth.

These prohibitions are frequently coupled with the defects accruing to her child if she disobeys. In most instances, the link between action and defect is clear. For example, if she uses collyrium, her child will be blind in one or both eyes; if she combs her hair, he will be bald. If she massages her body with oil, he will have a skin disease (*duscarma*); if she takes a bath, he will die by drowning (*apsu mārukah*). If she cleans her teeth, his teeth will be discoloured: if she cuts her nails, his nails will be diseased. Similarly, if she plaits rope, her child will hang himself (*udbandhanamṛtah*). If she laughs, his palate, teeth, lips and tongue will be discoloured. If she talks a great deal, he will be a chatterbox (*pralāpī*); if she hears a loud noise, he will be deaf. If she runs, he will be unstable (*cañcalah*); if she roams about, he will be insane (*unmattah*). If she sleeps in the daytime, he will be sleepy by nature.

However, some of the links are less obvious. For example, if she drinks out of an earthenware vessel (*kharva, śarāva*), her child will be a dwarf (*kharva, vāmana*; a pun). If she eats food from her husband's plate, her child will be insane (*unmādi*). If she spins (*krṇatti*), or cuts rope, he will be impotent (*klībah*; or perhaps of indeterminate sex); a possible allusion to spinning or cutting the 'thread' of progeny that a man is duty bound to continue (*kulatantu; samtanārtham*, Manu IX.96; etc.). If she digs in the earth, he will be bald or his life will be short. If she sits in a draught, he will be insane (*unmattah*). Most important of all, if a menstruating woman makes love during the crucial three days, her child will be an untouchable (*candālah*) or cursed (*abhiśastah*; i.e. condemned for committing a *mahāpātaka*). Hence the detailed prohibitions to ensure that the menstruating woman is neither available nor attractive to her husband at this time (cf. section IIA, pp.88-96 and 96-101).

Thirdly, there are a number of special rulings to deal with different

kinds of coincidences. For example, while there is a prohibition on bathing in general (*snānamātranisēdhe 'pi*) during menstruation, the ritual bath prescribed for a specific occasion (*naimittikam snānam*; see section II A, pp.82-3) must still be performed, but in some other way. (The menstruating woman should somehow sprinkle her body with water without getting her clothes wet; Sdhp.35r.4-7.) Similarly, what additional rite of expiation (*prāyaścitta*) should be performed by a menstruating woman who is further polluted by contact with an untouchable (*candāla, śvapāka*), an inferior *śūdra* (*antya, antyaja*; i.e. the lower-caste or untouchable *śūdra*), an outcaste (*patita*, i.e. one guilty of a *mahāpātaka*), a dog or a crow (the *candālas* of the animal and bird kingdoms) (The answer depends both on which day the contact occurred and on whether she was eating at the time; Sdhp.36v.2-7.) What should a woman do if she begins to menstruate when she is already in a state of impurity due to a birth or a death in the family? (She should have water poured on her head by a brahmin; Sdhp.36v.7-9.) What should she do if, while menstruating herself, she touches or is touched by another menstruating woman? (The answer depends on the *varṇa* of the two women involved, who is responsible for making contact, and whether that contact was intentional or prolonged; Sdhp.36v.9-37r.10.)

Fourthly, there are the rulings for the ritual bath of purification on the fourth day (Sdhp.36r.1-36v.1, 37r.10-37v.7). Towards the end of the morning (*sāngave*; see p.45) on the fourth day, she should cleanse herself with sixty lumps of earth; if she is a widow, with twice that number (cf. section II A, pp.71-4). Then she should clean her teeth (cf. section II A, pp.78-82), and take a ritual bath with her clothes on (*sacelam*; cf. section II A, pp.82-8). Pure once more, she should gaze at the sun (*bhāskaram dṛṣṭvā*), pray for a son (*putram prārthya*), and attend to her woman's duties (*strīdharmam . . . samācareti*). According to a quotation attributed to Atri, 'when she has bathed properly, she should look at her husband's face and no one else's, or (if he is away) she should look at the sun while meditating on her husband in her mind.'<sup>31</sup> That evening, she should make sexual advances to her husband (*upasarpati*; Sdhp.40r.1). A quotation attributed to the *Agni-*

31. *atrib / Sdhp.37r.10. susnātā bhartr̥vadānam ikṣate 'nyasya na kvacit / athavā manasā dhyātvā patim bhānum vilokayet // Sdhp.37v.3-4 (Atri)< Sk.P.III.2.7.27b-c (ikṣatānyasa for ikṣate 'nyasya; manasī for manasā).*

*purāṇa* is more explicit. 'Anointed with unguents of ground turmeric (*haridrā*) and saffron (*kuṇkuma*; cf. section II A, pp.96–101), wearing bright garments, thinking of her husband's "lotus foot" (*patipādābjam*; i.e. with the reverence due to one's *guru* or god; cf. sections II C, pp.156–68, 221–7, and II D, pp.236–45), gazing at her own toes (i.e. keeping her eyes down), not looking at other men, thinking only of her husband, thinking of him as light itself (*bhargam eva*), always (keeping herself) pure (i.e. by taking care not to touch anything polluting), beautifully dressed and ornamented (*bhūṣitā*) and anointed with perfume (cf. section II A, pp.88–101), and in good spirits (*sumanāḥ*), she should go to bed (see section II D, pp.236–45).'<sup>32</sup> If bleeding continues after the fourth day, she is considered 'fit to be touched' (*sparśayogyā*; Sdhp.36r.8) and therefore pure with regard to her husband (*śuddhā bhartu[ḥ]*; Sdhp.36r.5); that is, she should still make love to him. Until her menstrual flow has ceased altogether, however, she is not held to be 'of pure conduct' (*sādhvācārā*; Sdhp.36r.6) and therefore she is not 'fit to perform the ritual worship of the gods and so on' (*daiyādikarṇayogyā*; Sdhp.36r.7–8).

Finally, there are the rulings concerning the importance of making love at the proper time (*ṛtukāladharma*) and the penalties or atonements (*prāyaścitta*) enjoined for both husband and wife if they fail to take advantage of this opportunity to conceive (Sdhp.37v.7–38r.5, 39v.10–40r.3; cf. *nagnikā*, section II A, pp.86–8). The penalties described are in fact those normally advocated for adultery. Āpastamba provides an example. 'A man who fails in his duty to his wife should put on the skin of a donkey with the hair turned outwards and go to seven houses calling (out to each in turn): "(Give) alms to a man who has failed in his duty to his wife!." And this should be his livelihood for six months.'<sup>33</sup> A variety of penalties may be imposed on the wife who refuses to make love; and again these are penalties mainly associated with adultery (cf. section III).

32. ḍgneyapurāṇe ṣpi // Sdhp.37v.4. *haridrākuṇkumālepalepitā śubhra-vastrakā .. smarontī patipādābjam svapādāṅguṣṭhavikṣaṇā / itarāṁś tu na paśyantī smarantī patim eva sā ; bhartāram bhargam eveti dhyāyantī satatam śuciḥ sumanāḥ ṣayanam gacched bhūṣitā gandhacarcitā // iti // Sdhp.37v.5–7 (Ag.P.) < ?*

33. . . . āpastambah // dāravyatikramī kharājinam bahirloma paridhāya dāravyatikramī bhiksām iti saptāgarāṇi caret / sā vrīttih ṣanmāsān // Sdhp.37v.7–9 (Āp.) < Āp.I.10.28.19.

According to Āpastamba, she should perform the severe twelve-day *kṛcchra* penance (see Manu XI.211; Vas.23.43; PVK IV.p.132.145) for six months (Sdhp.37v.9–10 < Āp.I.10.28.20). According to the *Brahmāñḍapurāṇa*, she should be abandoned (*parityājyā*; Sdhp. 38r.3–4). According to Manu, ‘the king should have her devoured by dogs in a (public) place where many people have gathered (to watch).’<sup>34</sup> In her next life, according to an unattributed quotation, she will be reborn as a bitch, a she-wolf, a female jackal or a female hog (Sdhp.39v.10–40r.1; for the retention of gender in transmigration, see sections IIC, p.226, and III, pp.246–7). According to Baudhāyana, her husband should proclaim her publicly to be a foetus-killer (*bhrūnaghñīm*; cf. section IIC, pp.217–21) and drive her out of his house (Sdhp.38r.4–5 < Baudh.IV.1.22; Dh.kośa I.ii.1019).

Tryambaka interprets this last ruling to mean that she should be sent back to her father. He then devotes considerable space to proving that the good wife never returns to her father’s house (Sdhp.38r.5–39v.10). His evidence includes lengthy quotations taken from the Ṛgvedic marriage hymn (R.V.X.85 and commentary), the *Yajurveda* (and commentary), the *Drāhyāyaṇasrauta-sūtra* (and commentary), and the Śakuntalā story from both the *Mahābhārata* and Kālidāsa. The conclusion is clear. ‘People suspect a married woman who spends time with her own relations and, even if she is chaste, (they assume) otherwise; that is why (even) her own relatives insist that she remain near her husband, even if he does not like her.’<sup>35</sup> As Kaṇva explains to Śakuntalā, ‘even slavery (*dāsyam api*) in your husband’s house is right (*kṣamam*)’ (Sdhp.39v.8 *Abhijñānaśakuntalam* V.27).

*The religious duties of the pregnant woman (garbhīṇīdharmāḥ;* Sdhp.40r.3–42r.1)

First, Tryambaka gives a number of rulings, largely prohibitions,

34. *manuh // bhartāram laṅghayed yā tu jātu strī gunadarpiṭā / tām śvabhiḥ khādayed rājā samsthāne bahusamsthite //* Sdhp.38r.2–3 (Manu) < Manu VIII.371 (*strī jñāti*° for *jātu strī*). Cf. Gaut.XXIII.14; Viṣ.Sm.V.18.1.

35. *ayam arthaḥ kālidāsenābhuyuktah //* Sdhp.39r.4–5. *satīm api jñātikulai-* *kasamśrayām jano 'nyathā bhartrmatīm viśāṅkate / atāḥ samīpe pariṇetur* *iṣyate tad aprīyāpi pramadā svabandhubhiḥ //* Sdhp.39v.8–9 (Kālidāsa) < *Abhijñānaśakuntalam* V.17.

relating to the proper behaviour of the pregnant woman. Many of them are given elsewhere in the more general context of the good wife. For example, even if the pregnant woman—who is naturally tired at this time as a result of the weight of the unborn child (*garbhaharālasāyāḥ svabhāvataḥ*)—abandons all other ornamentation, she should not abandon those things which are associated with the woman whose husband is still alive: that is, *haridrā*, collyrium and so on (Sdhp.41r.4–7; cf. section II A, p.96, note 73). Similarly, she should perform the popular *naktavrata* that involves a morning bath, a *pūjā* to Pārvatī (the model of the devoted wife; see section I), and eating only at night (Sdhp.40v.2).

Some rulings are more specific to pregnancy. For example, the pregnant woman should avoid such things as riding elephants and horses, climbing hills or onto housetops (*kuñjarāśvādiśaḥlaharmyādirohanam*), strenuous physical exertion (*vyāyāmam*), walking fast (*sīghragamanam*), riding in a cart (*śakaiārohanam*), blood-letting (*raktavimokṣam*), and so on (Sdhp.40v.3–5). If she obeys these rules, she will have a son who lives for a long time and is very wealthy (*putrah sthirāyur vrddhisamyutah*); if she does not, she will cause a miscarriage (*garbhapatānam avāpnoti*; Sdhp.40v.6–7). The ruling that a pregnant woman should avoid sexual intercourse (... *vyavāyam ca garbhīṇī varjayet sadā*; Sdhp.41r.3–4) is somewhat at odds with the widespread idea that—due to the boon granted to women by Indra when they agreed to take on part of the guilt of his brahminicide (see section III, pp.250–1)—if a woman wants to make love, her husband should not refuse, right up to the delivery of her child (Yājñ.I.81, Mit.; Tait.Sam.II.5.1.4–5; etc.).

Secondly, Tryambaka deals with the importance of indulging a pregnant woman's cravings (*dohadapradānam*; Sdhp.41r.9). He quotes Yājñavalkya. 'As a (direct) result of not indulging the craving of a pregnant woman, the foetus acquires some defect (*doṣam*); that is, some deformity (*vairūpyam*) or even death. That is why what women desire (when they are pregnant) should be done.'<sup>36</sup> Even if she wants something that is bad (*ahitam*) for her, she should

36. *dohadapradānam yājñavalkye // dohadasyāpradānenā garbho dasam avāpnu�āt / vairūpyam maranam vāpi tasmāt kāryam priyam striyāḥ //* Sdhp. 41r.9–10 < Yājñ.III.79 (*dauhrdasyā°* for *dohadasyā°*; *dohadasyā°* given as variant reading); Dh.kośa I.ii.p.1083.

be given it: a little is in this case good or at least somewhat good (*hitopahitam alpakam*, Sdhp.41v.3< *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayam*, *śarīrasthānam* I.53b; cf. Obeyesekere 1963:340 - 1). The reasoning behind this—derived here from the medical authority, *Vāgbhaṭa*—is that the heart is one of the ‘soft’ organs bequeathed by the mother (for the others, see Jolly 1901:81). ‘For (the child’s) heart is born of its mother (*mātrjam*) and is (thus closely) linked with its mother’s heart; it is therefore not right to deny the cravings (*śraddhāvīmānanam*) of the pregnant woman.’<sup>37</sup> For in indulging the mother, one is in fact indulging the child. The cravings felt by the mother are thus in reality those of the foetus for all that it experienced in its former life (Jolly 1901:77). Medical texts derive *dohada* from *dvaihṛdaya*, ‘two-hearted’, on the grounds that the hearts of mother and foetus are linked in this way.

Two points may be made here. First, this close relationship between the hearts of mother and child supports the idea that the half-breed demon priest inherits his mother’s demonic heart (or *svabhāva*; see section III, p.266). Secondly, the *dohada* or craving of the pregnant woman is a recurrent motif in South Asian culture and folklore. More important, it can provide a graphic (but culturally acceptable) expression of a woman’s hostility towards her husband, her ambivalence towards her child, and her resentment regarding the traditional role of women in society (cf. Bloomfield 1920; Tawney 1924:I, appendix III; Obeyesekere 1963).

Finally, Tryambaka describes the entry of the pregnant woman into the lying-in chamber (*sūtikāgāra veśanam*; Sdhp.41v.4–42r.1). She should be led into this special room where all that is necessary has been gathered together (*sambhāraih sambhṛtam*; Sdhp.41v.9; cf. Jolly 1901:82–3) in or before the ninth month, or even at the moment of giving birth (*prasūtisambhave kāle sadyo vāpi*; Sdhp.41v.5), at a suitably auspicious time, and with a ceremony to bring good luck (*kṛtakautukamangalām*; Sdhp.41v.10). Moreover, she should hold in her hand a fruit that has a masculine name (*hastastha-*

37. *bāhaṭe 'pi // mātrjam hy asya hrdayam mātuś ca hrdayena tat / sambandham tena garbhīṇyā neṣṭamī śraddhāvīmānanam //* Sdhp.41v.1–2 (Bāhaṭa) < *Vāgbhaṭa’s Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayam*, *śarīrasthānam* I.52b–53a (*śraddhāvidhāranam* for *śraddhāvīmānanam*; the latter variant is read by Aruṇadatta’s commentary). ‘Bāhaṭa’ is the South Indian version of ‘Vāgbhaṭa’.

*punnāmaphalām*; Sdhp.41v.10) in order to encourage the birth of a son.

*The religious duties of the woman whose husband is away*  
(*prositabhartrkādharmāḥ*; Sdhp.42r.1–3).

This brief section quotes two well-known but here unasccribed rulings, without comment. ‘When her husband has gone to another country, the chaste woman (*satī*) should forego perfumes, garlands, collyrium, (using) the teeth-cleaning stick and (chewing) betel.’<sup>38</sup> ‘The woman whose husband is away should abandon playing, adorning her body, attending gatherings and festivals, laughing, and going to other people’s houses.’<sup>39</sup> Mit. on Yājñ.I.84 glosses ‘playing’ (*krīḍām*) as ‘with a ball and so on’ (*kandukādibhiḥ*), ‘attending festivals’ ([*u*]tsavo) as ‘marriages and so on’ (*vivāhādīḥ*), and ‘laughing’ (*hāsyam*) as ‘with the mouth open’ (*vijṛmbhaṇam*). Such are the self-imposed deprivations implied by Draupadī when she tells Satyabhāmā that she always observes a ‘vow’ (*bhavāmi vratacārinī*) when her husband(s) is (are) away (Sdhp.29r.9 < Mbh. III.222.29; see section IV, pp.280–1). The implications of the individual items of beautification and personal hygiene have been discussed earlier in the appropriate sections.<sup>40</sup>

*The injunction relating to dying (literally ‘going’) with (one’s husband)* (*sahagamanavidhiḥ*; Sdhp.42r.3–45r.5)

Of the nine topics discussed in this section on the duties common to all women, this is perhaps the most interesting. For in 1789,

38. *gate deśāntaram patyau gandhamālyāñjanāny api / dantakāṣṭhami ca tāmbūlām varjayed vanitā satī //* Sdhp.42r.1–2 < Manu, *pariśiṣṭa*, p.7 (1935 Benares edn.); *Smṛtiratnāvalī*; °āni ca for āny api).

39. *krīḍām śarīrasaṃskāram samājotsavadarśanam / hāsyam paragrhe yānam tyajet prositabhartrkā // iti //* Sdhp.42r.2–3 < Yājñ.I.84; Dh.kośa I.ii.p.1085. Cf. Sm.C.III.ii. p.592–3.

40. For perfumes, garlands etc., see section IIA, pp.96–101; and for teeth-cleaning, pp.78–82; for chewing betel, see sections IIA, pp.96–101 and IIC, pp.229–33. The issue of attending festivals and public gatherings is raised in sections IIB, pp.132–41 (e.g. note 38) and IV, pp.274–6; visiting the homes of others in section IV, p.275, (note 6). Finally, the reasons a man is permitted to leave home are given in section IIB, pp.132–41.

'suttee' was officially noted by the government of Bengal. The campaign against the custom, led by Rammohan Roy (1772–1833), met with considerable hostility from the orthodox community (see Anantarāma's *Sahānumaraṇaviveka*).<sup>41</sup> In 1829, Suttee Regulation XVII made the practice illegal. In 1830, eight hundred Hindu conservatives appealed to the Privy Council on the grounds that the Act interfered with Indian culture and religion. In 1832, the prosuttee appeal was rejected. In the Maratha court of Thanjavur in the mid-eighteenth century, however, the orthodox position was still maintained. Tryambaka presents it as follows.

He begins with two resounding quotations that advocate the practice of *sahagamana*. First, 'at the time of a girl's wedding, the brahmins should recite (these words): "May you be one who accompanies her husband (always,) when he is alive and even when he is dead!"'<sup>42</sup> Secondly, according to Saṅkha, 'if, when her husband has died, a woman ascends with (him; *samārohe[t]*) into the fire, she is glorified in heaven as one whose conduct is equal to that of Arundhatī'.<sup>43</sup>

Tryambaka next considers the objection (*nanu . . .*) that *sahagamana* is in fact a form of suicide, and therefore prohibited (*ātmahatyārūpatvena niśiddhatvāt*; Sdhp.42r.6–7). Of the two quotations given to support this objection, the first is the standard *pūrvapakṣa* against suicide. 'And therefore one should certainly not depart (this life) before its full length (has been lived out).'<sup>44</sup> The second is Īś. Up.3, together with the common misinterpretation of the phrase *ātmahano janah* to mean 'people who kill themselves' instead of

41. I am indebted to J. Duncan M. Derrett for drawing my attention to this work.

42. *atha sahagamanavidhiḥ // Sdhp.42r.3. kanyāvivāhasamaye vācayeyur iti dvijāḥ / bhartuḥ sahacarī bhūyah jīvato jīvato 'pi vā/ iti// Sdhp.42r.4–5 < Sk.P.III.2.7.52.*

43. *saṅkho 'pi // nrte bhartari yā nārī samārohed dhutāśanam / sārundhāti- samācārā svarge loke mahīyate// Sdhp.42r.5–6 (Saṅkh.) < Mit. on Yājñ.1.86 (svargaloke for svarge loke); Par.M.II.i.p.54 (as Mit.; ṣaṅkhāṅgirasau); Dh.kośa I.ii.p.1115 (as Mit.; Aṅg.). See also Sahā. I.1 (Aṅg.).*

44. *tathā ca śrutih // tasmād u ha na purāyuṣaḥ preyāt // iti // Sdhp.42r.7 (śrutih) < Śat.Br.X.2.6.7 (svakāmī preyāt for preyāt); Dh.kośa II.i.p.517 (as Śat.Br.). Cf. Medh. on Manu VI.32; Kull. on Manu VI.31.*

'people who kill (i.e. are ignorant of) the (true) Self' (cf. Radhakrishnan 1974:570; Hume 1971:361, note 4; PVK II.ii.p.927, Vāj.S.40.3). Tryambaka argues that this 'objection is invalid because the prohibition on suicide is a general rule (*sāmānyavacana*) and is therefore open to modification by supplementary rules giving the exceptions to it (*viśesa*). Just as the general rule that 'one should not desire to kill any living being' is modified by supplementary rules—for example, that in certain rituals an animal should be sacrificed—so the general prohibition on suicide is also modified by supplementary rules. These include rulings related to the religious suicide of the ascetic who kills himself at a sacred place in order to go directly to heaven (cf. Yatidh.17.1–32; Olivelle 1977:42–3, 96–8); the deliberate courting of death in battle by the heroic warrior (cf. Yatidh.17.8; Olivelle 1977:97); and—according to Tryambaka—the self-immolation of the widow on her husband's funeral pyre (Sdhp.42r.8–42v.8).

Tryambaka's second argument in favour of the practice is that 'dying with one's husband (*bhartranumaranam*) is recommended for women because it brings great rewards.'<sup>45</sup> Although not spelled out, the crucial issue here is whether the ritual act of *sahagamana* is *naimittika* (i.e. required by the particular 'occasion'; in this case, by the husband's death) or *kāmya* (i.e. to be performed only if one desires the rewards accruing to the action; cf. *nitya*, *naimittika* and *kāmya* in the context of ritual baths, section IIA, p.82). If it is *naimittika*, the widow must join her husband on his pyre; if it is *kāmya*, she only needs to do so if she wants to enjoy the 'great rewards' promised by the scriptures. Tryambaka evidently admits that *sahagamana* is a *kāmya* act and therefore entirely a matter for the individual widow to decide. However, his repeated assertion that it is to be recommended (*ślāghyam*, *prāstahā*), together with his daunting descriptions of the only alternative open to the widow who remains alive (see below, pp.298–304), makes his own opinion on the question abundantly clear.

He proceeds to quote numerous *ślokas* describing the 'great rewards' in store for the pious widow who chooses to die. I have selected some of the more memorable examples. 'The husband is to be followed always (*sahānuyātavy[ah]*): like the body by its shadow, like the moon by moonlight, like a thundercloud by

<sup>45.</sup> *mahāphalakatvād api bhartranumaranam strīnām ślāghyam // Sdhp. 42v.4.*

lightning.<sup>46</sup> ‘There is no doubt that the woman who follows (*anuvrajantī*) her husband gladly from his house to the cremation ground attains with every step the reward(s) of the horse-sacrifice.<sup>47</sup> ‘Just as the snake-catcher drags the snake from its hole by force, even so the virtuous wife (*satī*) snatches her husband from the demons of hell and takes him up to heaven.’<sup>48</sup> ‘Yama’s messengers recognize a virtuous wife (*satīm*) from afar and take to flight. Even if her husband has been an evil man, they let go of him at once, exclaiming, “When we see a devoted wife (*pativrataṁ*) hurtling towards us (to rescue her husband), we messengers (of Death) are less afraid of fire and lightning than we are of her!”’<sup>49</sup> ‘There are 3½ crores of hairs on a person’s body: she who dies with (*anugacchati*) her husband will dwell in heaven for the same length of time.’<sup>50</sup> ‘(Even in the case of) a husband who has entered into hell (itself) and who—seized by the servants of Death and bound with terrible bonds—has arrived at the very place of torment (*yātanāsthānam*); (even if he is already) standing there, helpless and

**46.** *tathā ca vyāsaḥ // strīnām anugamanavisaye // Sdhp.42v.4–5. bhartā sahānuyātavyo dehavac chāyayā sadā / candramā jyotsnayā yadvad vidyutvān vidyutā yathā // Sdhp.42v.5–6 (Vyāsa) < Nirṇ.438 (*sadānuyātavyo* for *sahānuyātavyo*; *striyā* for *sadā*). See also Saha.IV.1b (as Nirṇ.; Sk.P.).*

**47.** *anuvrajantī bhartāram gr̄hāt pitryanam mudā / pade pade ’svame-dhasya phalaṁ prāpnaty asamśayam // Sdhp.42v.6 (Vyāsa) < Sk.P.III.2.7.53; Nirṇ.438 (*anuvrajati* for *anuvrajantī*; *gr̄hān nihsaranam* for *gr̄hāt pitryanam*). See also Saha.IV.1b (as Nirṇ.; Sk.P.).*

**48.** *vyālagrāhī yathā vyālam balād uddharate bilāt / evam utkṛṣya daityebhyah patīm svargam nayet satī // Sdhp.42v.6–7 (Vyāsa) < Sk.P.III.2.7.54 (uikramya dūtebhayah for utkṛṣya daityebhyah; vrajet for nayet); Par.M.II.i. p.57 (evam strī patīm uddhritya tenaiva saha modate). For the first half-śloka only (*bilād* for *balād*; *balāt* for *bilāt*), see Mit. on Yājñ.I.86 (Aṅg.); Apar. on Yājñ.I.87 (Vyāsa); Dh.kośa I.ii.pp.1111,1116,1117; Saha.I.1.*

**49.** *yamadūtāḥ palāyante satīm ālokya dūrataḥ / api duṣkr̄takarmāṇam samutsṛṣya ca tatpatīm // na tathā bibhimo vahner na tathā vidyuto yathā / āpatantīm samālokya vayam dūtāḥ pativrataṁ // Sdhp.42v.7–9 (Vyāsa) < Sk.P.III.2.7.55a (first half-śloka only; tām ālokya pativrataṁ for satīm ālokya dūrataḥ).*

**50.** *parāśaro 'pi // tisraḥ koṭyo 'rdhakoṭi ca yāni romāṇi mānuṣe / tāvat kālāṇi vaset svarge bhartāram yānugacchati // Sdhp.43r.1–2 (Par.) < Par.Sm.IV.32; Mit. on Yājñ.I.86 (lomāṇi for romāṇi; Śaṅkh., Aṅg.); Dh.kośa I.ii. p.1115 (lomāṇi for romāṇi; tāvānty abdāṇi sā for tāvat kālāṇi vaset; Aṅg.). Cf. Apar.p.110.*

wretched, quivering (with fear) because of his evil deeds;<sup>51</sup> even if he is a brahmin-killer or the murderer of a friend, or if he is ungrateful for some service done for him — (even then) a woman who refuses to become a widow (*avidhvā nārī*) can purify him: in dying, she takes him with her.<sup>52</sup> Tryambaka concludes that 'according to established custom as shown in the eloquent statements (given above), this (act of) dying with (one's husband; *anumaranām*)— when put into practice by a devoted wife (*pativratayā*)— confers great blessings on both (wife and husband).'<sup>53</sup>

Tryambaka now considers the rewards accruing to the bad wife. 'If (this act of dying with one's husband is) put into practice by a sinful woman, it brings about the destruction of that sin.'<sup>54</sup> The quotation that follows is quite clear. 'Women who, due to their wicked minds, have previously (i.e. until then) despised their husbands, and who have always behaved disagreeably towards those husbands, who (though) being of that kind (yet) at the (appropriate) time perform the (ritual act of) dying with their husbands (*bhartrānumaranām*)— whether (they do this) of their own free will, or out of anger, or even out of fear—all of them are purified (of sin).'<sup>55</sup> This is the scriptural justification for forcing women to burn themselves. Whatever their reason for doing so, whatever the past

51. *vyāsaḥ // yadi praviṣṭo narakam baddhah pāśaiḥ sudāruṇaiḥ / sam-*  
*prāpi yātanāsthānam gr̥hiṭo yamakiṅkaraiḥ / tiṣṭhate vivaśo dīno vepamānah*  
*svakarmabhiḥ // Sdhp.43r.4–5 (Vyāsa) < Apar. on Yājñ.I.87 (veṣṭhamānah*  
*for vepamānah; Vyāsa); Dh.koṣa I.ii.p.1111 (as Apar.); Par.M.II.i.p.57 (as*  
*Apar.) Cf. Sahā.I.7. (dīno 'n̄da bhujyamānah for dīno vepamānah).*

52. *brahmaghno vā kṛtaghno vā mitraghno vā bhavet patiḥ / punāty avidhvā*  
*nārī tam ādāya mṛtā tu yā // Sdhp.43r.5–6 (Vyāsa) < Mit. on Yājñ.I.86;*  
*Par.M.II.i.p.57; Dh.koṣa I.ii.p.1111 (brahmaghne vā kṛtaghne vā mitraghne*  
*yac ca duṣkṛtam / bhartuḥ punāty sā nārī tam ādāya mṛtā tu yā; Vyāsa).*  
*Cf. Apar.I.87; Mit. on Yājñ.I.72; Dh.koṣa I.ii.p.1116 (Aṅg.).*

53. *idam cānumaranām pativratayānuṣṭhitam saduktaritāyā ubhayoh śreyo-*  
*hetuh // Sdhp.43r.6–7. Cf. Par.M.II.i.p.57–8 (cānugamanam for cānumara-*  
*nam; dampatyor ubhayoh for ubhayoh).*

54. *pāpiyasyānuṣṭhitam cet pāpakṣayahetuḥ // Sdhp.43r.7. Cf. Par.M.II.i.*  
*p.58 ("hetur bhavati for hetuh).*

55. *tathā ca samgraha // bhārate // Sdhp.43r.7. avamatya ca yā[h] pūrvam*  
*patiṁ duṣṭena cetasa / vartante yāś ca satatam bhartīmāṇi pratikūlagāḥ //*  
*bhartrānumaranām kāle yāḥ kurvanti tathāvidhāḥ / kāmāt krodhād bhayād*

deeds of either husband or wife; the sacrifice purifies both of them. As a result of this (ruling),’ Tryambaka concludes, ‘when *sahagamana* is performed by a woman who has done wrong—that is, what her husband did not like (cf. section V)—throughout her lifetime, (then) it is said to have the quality of a *prāyaścitta*.<sup>56</sup> In this sense, it is the ultimate, and only effective, *prāyaścitta* for the bad wife.

As Tryambaka admits, however, this conclusion conflicts with the special rulings relating to the *kali* age (Sdhp.43v.1–3; cf. *kali-varjya*, PVK III. p.926–68). One of these is that the rite of atonement that culminates in death (*maraṇāntikaprāyaścitta*) is prohibited in the *kali* age. The quotation is unambiguous. ‘These duties (i.e. those listed in the previous unquoted passages) are to be avoided in the *kali* age, say learned men; as is the prescribing to brahmins of any rite of atonement (*prāyaścitta*) that culminates in death.’<sup>57</sup> Tryambaka merely sidesteps the problem, remarking that whether or not the bad wife should perform *sahagamana* to wipe out her sins is best left to great men to decide (*kartavyam na kartavyam iti mahadbhir vivecaniyam*; Sdhp.43v.3).

Tryambaka’s weakness as a *mīmāṃsaka* is evident. For there are two crucial issues here: whether or not *sahagamana* is really a *prāyaścitta* for the bad wife; and, if so, whether this particular *maraṇāntikaprāyaścitta* is in fact prohibited in the *kali* age. Tryambaka argues neither well. Instead, he embarks on a lengthy (and poorly structured) explanation of why it is important for a wife to behave properly during her and her husband’s lifetime (Sdhp.43v.3–44v.3). If there is no *maraṇāntikaprāyaścitta* for the errant wife, then she cannot escape the torments awaiting her in the next world. For—according to a variety of quotations—even if she has bathed in all the sacred places, the bad wife will go to the hell of dung and

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vāpi sarvāḥ pūtā bhavanty uta // Sdhp.43r.7–9 (Mbh.) < Sm.M.I.p.163 (*prati-kūlatāḥ* for ‘gāḥ; *bhayān mohāt* for *bhayād vāpi*; *Vyāsaśātātapaḥ*); Par.M.II. i.p.58 (as Sm.M. except *tu* for *ca*; *bhavanti tāḥ* for *bhavanty uta*; Mbh.); Mbh.XIII appendix I no.15, 4660–3, 4665–6. Cf. Sahā.1.2 (as Par.M. except *ca* for *tu*).

56. *anena jīva[nada]sāyām bhartr̥vipriyam pāpam kṛtavatyāḥ sahagamanam prāyaścittatvenoktam* // Sdhp.43r.9–10 (following the emendation of PT).

57. *kalau yuge tv imān dharmān varjyān āhur maniṣināḥ / prāyaścitta-vidhānam ca viprāṇām māraṇāntikam* // Sdhp.43v.1–2 < Sm.A.p.2, ślokas 25b, 21b.

urine (*vijñmûtre narake*), or burning oil (*taptatailanarakam*); she will be a widow, or a bitch, or a sow in her next life; she will be infested with worms in this one; and so on. Since statements such as these make no reference to any other *prâyaścitta* that can wipe out the effects of a wife's bad behaviour (*prâyaścittântarâbhâvâc ca sarvathâ*; Sdhp.44r.10–44v.1), Tryambaka suggests that there is none (that is, he implies, none other than *sahagamana*). The wife's only hope is to worship and placate her husband at every turn. The inadequacy of Tryambaka's reasoning on this point becomes clear when one compares it with, for example, that in the *Mitâkṣarâ* on Yâjñ.III.226. Tryambaka's intention, however, is transparent. He is evidently suggesting that, despite the rulings regarding the *kali* age, *sahagamana* is in fact the safest course of action for the not-so-perfect wife.

Tryambaka raises one final question. 'Now the objection may be made (*nanu*) that this (practice of) dying with one's husband (*anugamanam*) is applicable to *kṣatriya* women and so on (i.e. to the lower *varṇas*), but prohibited to brahmin women.'<sup>58</sup> Several quotations are produced in favour of this view. For example, 'as a result of Brahmâ's instruction, following one's husband when he has died (*mṛtânugamanam*) is not appropriate) for brahmin women; but, for the other *varṇas*, this is held to be the supreme duty for women.'<sup>59</sup> Or, 'the brahmin woman who does not die with her husband, (even though she is) distracted by grief, obtains the goal of renunciation (*pravrajyâ*; glossed by Tryambaka as *brahma-caryam*; i.e. *vidhavâdhârma*, see below); (whereas) by dying, she becomes one who has committed suicide (*ātmaghâtînî*; i.e. she incurs the sin thereof).'<sup>60</sup> According to Tryambaka, however, such statements in fact prohibit brahmin women from ascending

58. *nanu idam anugamanam kṣatriyâdînâm bhavatu / brâhmanyâs tu nisiddham* // Sdhp.44v.3–4.

59. *tathâ ca paitîhînasîh // mṛtânugamanam nâsti brâhmanyâ brahma-sâsanât / itareśâm tu varñâñâm strîdharmo 'yam para[h] smrtah* // Sdhp.44v.4–5 (Paiṭhînasi; PT gives *dharmo 'yam paramâh smrtah*) < Apar.p.112 (Paiṭhînasi); Mit. on Yâjñ.I.86 (*itareśu tu varñeśu tapâh paramâh smrtah*); Dh.kośa I.ii. p.1115 (as Mit.: Paiṭhînasi). Cf. Sahâ.III.1.

60. *vyâghrapâdah na. mriyeta samam bhartrâ brâhmañî šokamohitâ / pravrajyâgatîm âpnoti maranâd âtmaghâtînî* // Sdhp.44v.9–45r.1 (Vyâghrapâda) < Apar.p.112 (Vyâghrapâda); Dh.kośa I.ii.p.1117.

a separate pyre (*pr̥thakcityārohanaparatvāt*; Sdhp.45r.2–3). The implication here is that the chief or brahmin wife, the *patnī*, should join her husband on his pyre (*anvārohana*) while the junior wives of lower *varṇa* should burn on separate ones (*anumaraṇa*). As the quotation from Uśanas explains, ‘a brahmin woman should not go (i.e. die) by ascending (*samāruhya*) a separate pyre, but for other women this is the ancient duty for wives.’<sup>61</sup>

Tryambaka’s conclusion is obvious. ‘The religious duty (or practice) of dying with one’s husband is commended (*praśastah*) for women,’<sup>62</sup> whether brahmins or not, whether good or bad.

### *The religious duties of the widow* (vidhvādharmaḥ; Sdhp.45r.5–48v.6)

Judging by his previous section, Tryambaka believes that the best course of action open to the widow is that of dying with her husband. The way in which he opens this section reinforces that view.

‘If for some reason, by some stroke of fate (*daivayogāt*), she does not follow her husband (*anuyāti*), then her virtue (*sīlam*) must be protected; for if her virtue is lost, she falls down (to hell).’<sup>63</sup> More important perhaps, her loss of virtue (*sīlam*) causes her husband to fall from heaven (*svargāt patih patati*; i.e. into hell), and her parents and brothers too (Sdhp.45r.7–8; Āśv. in the *Pārijāta*). The ‘stroke of fate’ implies that the wife in question is pregnant, menstruating or caring for a small infant when her husband dies (see Par.M.II.i.p.58–9; Sm.M.I.p.162; Sahā.I.8,etc.; cf.PVK II.i.p.633). Of these, the menstruating woman may burn herself after her ritual bath on the fourth day (cf. pp.286–7).

Tryambaka then describes the conduct that will ensure that the

61. *tathā ca uśanā// pr̥thakcītīm samāruhya na vīprā gantūn arhati/ anyā-sām caiva nārīñām strīdharmo 'yam sanātanah// iti//* Sdhp.45r.3–4 (Uśanas) < Par.M.II.i.p.56 (parah smṛtah for sanātanah); Sm.M.I.p.162 (as Par.M.; Uśanas); Apar.p.112 (as Par.M.); Dh.koṣa I.ii.p.1113 (Uśanas). Cf. Mit. on Yājñ.I.86; Sahā.I.8 (as Par.M.).

62. *evam anugamanadharmaḥ strīñām praśastah//* Sdhp.45r.5.

63. *pārijāt[e] āśvalāyanah// anuyāti na bhartāram daivayogāt kathamcana/ tathāpi sīlam samṛakṣyam sīlabhaigāt pataty adhah//* Sdhp.45r.6–7 (Āśv. in the *Pārijāta*) < ?

widow's virtue is safe. For the rest of her days, she should live the subdued and restricted life of the celibate student (*kṣāntā niyatā brahmacārī*; Sdhp.45r.9, Manu < Manu V.158) as opposed to the life of the married woman with all its outward signs of happiness and ornamentation (cf. section IIA, pp.88–101). She should willingly mortify her body (*kāmam tu kṣaped deham*), living on flowers, roots and fruits (Sdhp.45v.10, Manu < Manu V.157); or, alternatively, on fruits, vegetables and barley (Sdhp.45v.3, Āśv.). She should eat only once a day, and in addition she should perform regular severe fasts (Sdhp.45r.1–3, Āśv. < Sm.M.I.p.160, etc.). She should wear undyed (*vṛktam*) garments, no bodice (*kañcukam*), no perfumes (*gandhadravya*) or unguents (*udvartanam*; Sdhp.46r.6–8, Āśv.; cf. section IIA, pp.88–101). If she binds her hair on top of her head (*kabarībandha*), she causes her husband to be bound in the other world (*bhartrbandhāya jāyate*, Sdhp.46r.5, Āśv.; cf. section IIA, pp.96–101). She should sleep on the ground (*bhūṣayanaṁ kāryam*), never on a 'high bed' (*paryanka*; Sdhp.45v.4–5, Āśv. < Sm.M.I.p.160, etc.; cf. section IID, pp.236–45). She should not even mention the name of another man (Sdhp.45v.10–11, Manu < Manu V.157), nor have any sort of contact with him (Tryambaka's gloss; Sdhp.45v.11–46r.1).

In fact, her lifestyle is repeatedly compared with that of the ascetic or Vedic student (for similar associations in south India today, see Fuller and Logan 1985:89ff.). For example, 'the ascetic (or renouncer; *yati*), the celibate student (*brahmacārī*) and the widow should avoid (chewing) betel (cf. sections IIA, pp.96–101, and IIC, pp.229–33, anointing (their bodies with oils or unguents; cf. section IIA, pp.96–101), and eating off copper or brass vessels (cf. section IIC, pp.217–21; Yatidh.57.79–92; Olivelle 1977:37, 168).'<sup>64</sup> In other examples, the parallel is made by specifically calling the widow's way of life (*vidhavāvrata*) 'renunciation' (e.g. *pravrajā*: see above, note 60) or, in the widest sense, 'the celibate life' (e.g. *brahmacārī*, Sdhp.45r.9, Manu < Manu V.158; *brahma-caryam*, Sdhp.46r.4, Āp.; etc.). But the widow may never leave

<sup>64.</sup> *samvartah // tāmbulābhyanjanam caiva kāmsyapātre ca bhojanam / yatis ca brahmacārī ca vidhavā ca vivarjayet ji iti // Sdhp.46v.1–2 (Samvarta) < Sm.C.II.p.602 (Pracetas); Dh.kośa I.ii.p.1117 (*tāmbulābhyanjane* for *nam*; Pracetas).*

home as a true renunciate. Tryambaka explains, 'Forsaking sons, brothers and other (male relatives) after her husband (dies), and living independently, incurs condemnation.'<sup>65</sup> For a woman may never act independently (see above, p.276, note 9); as a widow, her dependence is simply transferred from husband to sons. Indeed, 'the woman (i.e. widow) who is (truly) devoted to her husband should not do anything without (first) asking her sons.'<sup>66</sup>

Devotion to one's husband, even after his death, thus remains the key point of the widow's life. If she has no son (*putrābhāve*; Tryambaka's gloss), she should make funeral offerings (*tarpanam . . . kāryam*) to her husband daily, and to his father and grandfather (Sdhp. 45v.5-6, Āśv.). 'She may worship Viṣṇu (but only) if she thinks (all the time) of her husband, not otherwise. She should meditate on her husband alone, always; that is, (on her husband) in the auspicious guise of (the god) Viṣṇu.'<sup>67</sup> For she (i.e. the widow) who takes refuge in the religious duty of the virtuous wife (*sati-dharmam*) should always worship her husband, bringing him to mind by means of a portrait or a clay model.<sup>68</sup>

Not surprisingly, Tryambaka makes no mention of or allowance for the remarriage of widows. However, he does raise the question of *niyoga*, a practice much discussed in commentarial and digest writing. The point at issue is whether or not the widow of a man who dies without a son may, after her husband's death, have sexual intercourse with another man 'appointed' (*niyukta*) to produce that son for him. The problem is caused once again by a conflict of rulings. On the one hand, a widow should not even mention the name of another man (see above), let alone have intercourse with

65. *bhartranantaram putrabhrātrādīn parityajya svātantryenāvasthāne nindāpi* // Sdhp 46r.9. Cf. Sdhp. 46r.10-46v.1 (Yājñ.) & Yājñ.1.86.

66. *uprṣṭvā tu sutān kiṁcīn na kuryād bhartṛtatparā* // Sdhp.46r.8-9 (Āśv.) < ?

67. *āśvalāyanah* // Sdhp.45v.1. *viṣṇos tu pūjanam kāryam patibuddhyā na cānyatā patim eva sadā dhyāyed viṣṇurūpadharam śivam* Sdhp.45v.7-8 (Āśv.) < Sm.M.I.p.161 (param for śivam; Vyāsa); Sk.P.III.2.7.70 (*supūjanam* for *tu pūjanam*; harīm for śivam).

68. *harivamśe vidhvavādharmān prakṛtya* // Sdhp.45v.8. *patīm samkulpay-ityā [tu] citrasthamī vāpi mṛṇmayam / tasya pūjām sudā kuryāt satīdharmam upāśritā* // Sdhp.45v.9-10 (following PT, I have inserted *tu* to fit the metre; Hariv.) < ? Not in Hariv. crit. edn. index.

him. On the other hand, a woman is at fault if she does not bear a son; and a man without a son is barred from heaven.

Tryambaka presents the *pūrvapakṣa* argument in favour of *niyoga* first. A blanket prohibition on sexual intercourse with a man other than one's husband is inappropriate (*anupapannam*) 'because even though blame is attached to sexual intercourse with another man for the sake of pleasure, it is necessary for the purpose of (producing) a son.'<sup>69</sup> The evidence for this is derived from the story of Jaratkāru in the *Mahābhārata*. Threatened with the extinction of their line (*samtanaprakṣayāt*), and the dire consequence that they will all fall into hell, Jaratkāru's ancestors entreat him to produce a son (Sdhp.47[1]r.2–3; cf. Mbh.I.13.9–34). For 'there is no heaven for one who has no son.'<sup>70</sup>

The next step in the argument in favour of *niyoga* is the ruling that 'in the absence of a natural (*aurasa*) son, it is necessary that a *kṣetraja* son should be acquired.'<sup>71</sup> In this context, the 'field' (*kṣetra*) is the wife and the 'owner of the field' (*kṣetrin*) is her husband. The son 'born of his field' (*kṣetraja*) is the son born to a man's wife by another man on his behalf; whether the husband in question is dead or incapacitated (e.g. by impotence, disease or a curse). The sower or 'owner of the seed' (*bījin*) is the man 'appointed' (*niyogin*) for this task. For the traditional list of the kinds of sons deemed acceptable for the two crucial purposes of making *śrāddha* offerings to the ancestors (*pindadāne*) and dividing the inheritance (*amīsagrahanē*), Tryambaka quotes at length from Yājñavalkya (Sdhp.47[1]r.5.5–9 (Yājñ.II.128–32). According to this quotation, the *kṣetraja* comes third in order of importance; that is, after the son born to a man by his own wife (i.e. married according to the proper religious ritual; *auraso dharmapatnijah*), and the son of a *putrikā* daughter (*putrikāsutah*, Sdhp.47[1]r.5–6; for a discussion of the *putrikā*, see section IIB, pp.146–7). Tryambaka draws further evidence from the story of Paraśurāma in the *Mahābhārata*. When Paraśurāma killed all the male *kṣatriyas*, their widows asked brahmins to produce sons with them on behalf of their dead hus-

69. *bhogārtham parapurusaṅgasya ninditative 'pi putrārtham tasyāvaśya-katvāt* // Sdhp.47(1)r.1–2.

70. *nāputrasya hi loko 'sti , iti śrutyā . . .* // Sdhp.47(1)r.2 (śruti) < Sm.C. III.ii.p.595 (yat tu śrutāv uktam nāputrasya loko 'stīti).

71. *aurasābhāve kṣetrajasyāvaśyam samprādanīyatvāt* // Sdhp.47(1)r.3–4.

bands (Sdhp.47[1].r.9–13 < Mbh.I.98.3b–5). Finally, Tryambaka cites the well-known examples of Kuntī, Ambikā, Ambālikā and so on, all of whom had sons by the practice of *niyoga* (Sdhp.47[1].r.13–14; cf. section V, pp.309–10).

According to Tryambaka, however, the *pūrvapakṣa* position is untenable. Only two kinds of son are acceptable in the *kali* age: the *aurasa* and the adopted son (*dattaka*, *datta*; Sdhp.47[1].r.14–47[1] v.2). This in turn raises the question of whether, if a man dies without a son, his widow may adopt on his behalf. According to Tryambaka, she may, but only if her husband gives his consent to adoption before he dies (Sdhp.47[1].v.2–5). For, according to Baudhāyana, ‘a woman may not give or take a son except with the consent of her husband.’<sup>72</sup> If he dies without giving his consent, she may not adopt; but neither may she resort to the practice of *niyoga*. Instead, she must devote herself totally to the celibate life already described (*brahmacaryavrata*, *vidhvāvrata*). Tryambaka quotes Manu. ‘Many thousands of men who have remained celibate (*brahmacārīnām*) from their boyhood, and who are (therefore) without sons, have (nonetheless) gone to heaven without (first) continuing their family line. (Similarly,) when her husband dies, the virtuous woman (*sādhvī strī*) who has taken up the celibate life (*brahmacaryavrate*) goes to heaven even if she has no son, just like those male celibates (*brahmacārināḥ*).’<sup>73</sup>

In section V, however, the question of *niyoga* is approached from another angle altogether, and with the opposite conclusion: if a man wants his wife to practise *niyoga* then what is strictly speaking wrong becomes right (see section V, pp.309–10).

Tryambaka also discusses the interesting question of the im-

72. *tathā ca taccheṣe bodhāyanah // na tu strī putram dadyāt pratigr̥hṇīyād vānyatrabhyanujñānād bhartuh // iti //* Sdhp.47 (1).v.4–5 (Baudhāyanagr̥hyaśeṣasūtra) < Dh.kośa I.ii.p.1384 (Baudhāyanagr̥hyaśeṣasūtra; “ānujñānād” for “ubhyanujñānād”) and p.1273 (as p.1384 except *tu* omitted; Vas.); Vas.15.5 (as Dh.kośa I.ii.p.1273).

73. *tathā ca manuh // Sdhp.47(1).v.7. anekāni sahasrāṇi kaumārabrahmacārīnām / divam gatāny aputrāṇām akṛtyā kulasamṛtam // mrte bhartari sādhvī strī brahmacaryavrate sthitā / svargam gacchaty aputrāpi yathā te brahmacārināḥ // Sdhp.47(1).v.8–10* (Manu) < Manu V.159–60 (*kumāra* for *kaumāra*°; *viprāṇām* for *aputrāṇām*; *brahmacarye vyavasthitā* for *brahmacaryavrate sthitā*); Sm.C.III.iii.p.595 (Manu; as Manu except *kaumāra*° for *kumāra*°); Dh.kośa I.ii.p.1062–3 (as Manu; Manu).

purity and inauspiciousness traditionally ascribed to widows. The examples he quotes are typical. 'Just as the body, bereft of life, in that moment becomes impure, so the woman bereft of her husband is always impure, even if she has bathed properly. Of all inauspicious things, the widow is the most inauspicious; there can never be any success after seeing a widow (cf. section II A, pp.54–7). The wise man should avoid even her blessing (*tadāśīśam api*)—excepting only that of his mother—for it is devoid of all auspiciousness, like the poison of a snake (*āśīviṣopamām*).'<sup>74</sup>

According to Tryambaka, however, such remarks apply only to the widow who does not behave as she ought (*ācārahināviṣayam*; Sdhp.47[2]r.4–5). For even if she becomes a widow, the *pativrata*—‘who is devoted to (good) conduct’ (*caryāparā*), ‘fully committed to her religious duty’ (*dharmaśamayukta*), and ‘who follows (the proper path of) widowhood’ (*vaidhavyam palayet*)—earns a three-fold reward: she is both happy and auspicious (*śubhā*) in this life; she obtains the pleasures of heaven (*svargabhogān*), or indeed the same heaven as her husband (*patilokam*): and she marries that same husband again in her next life (Sdhp.47[2]r.5–7). Theoretically at least, if she behaves as she should (see above), the dread inauspiciousness with which the scriptures threaten her are cancelled out. But if she cannot do this, she would presumably be well-advised to die with her husband.

Tryambaka finally raises the question of whether or not the widow should shave her head. In south India today, widows are in fact traditionally tonsured after the funeral (cf. Fuller and Logan 1985:95) but this is a late development calculated to bring the widow in line with other ‘renouncers’ (cf. Yatidh.21.39,104–5; Olivelle 1977:38,104–6). Tryambaka argues that ‘(rulings that prescribe) shaving the head (*śiraso vapanam*) apply to brahmin women; (those prescribing) keeping the hair (long apply) to women of other castes.’<sup>75</sup> The quotation is taken from the *Mahābhārata* where

74. *vyāsaḥ // jīvahīno yathā dehaḥ kṣaṇād aśucitam vrajet / bhartrhīnā tathā  
yoṣit susnātāpy aśuciḥ sadā // amaṅgalebhyah sarvebhyo vidhavā hy atya-  
maṅgalam / vidhavādarśanāt siddhiḥ kāpi jātu na jāyate // vihāya mātaram  
caikām sarvamaṅgalavarjitām / tadāśīśam api prājñas tyajed āśīviṣopamām //*  
*iti // Sdhp.47[2]r.1–4 (Vyāsa) < Sk.P.III.2.7.49–51 (dehī for dehaḥ; syād for  
hy aty; kvāpi for kāpi; sarvā maṅgalavarjitāḥ for sarvamaṅgalavarjitām).*

75. *śiraso vapanam brāhmaṇīviṣayam / itarajātiyastrīnām keśadhāranam  
eva // Sdhp.47(2)r.8.*

Dhṛtarāṣṭra's widowed daughters-in-law (i.e. *kṣatriya* women) are described as having dishevelled hair (*asīmantaśiroruhā[ḥ]*, lit. 'without a parting'; Sdhp.47[2]r.8–10 < Mbh.XV.32.15).

In contexts other than widowhood (e.g. for certain *prāyaścitta* rituals when performed by unmarried girls or women whose husbands are alive), the phrase 'shaving the head' (*śiraso muṇḍanam*) is taken to mean simply cutting two fingers' breadth (*aṅgulidvayam*) off the ends of the hair (Sdhp.47[2]v.1–3; cf. Bhardwaj 1983:154). In fact, as Tryambaka explains, the four main prohibitions relating to the performance by women of certain aspects (or component elements; *anīga*) of *vratas* include a prohibition on shaving the head (*keśavapanam*). The other three concern sleeping or staying far from home (*dūre śayanāsanam*); staying in the cow-pen at night, or following cows about in dangerous places during the day; and wearing deerskins (*ajinam vās[ah]*; Sdhp.47[2]v.6–8).

Tryambaka concludes that three kinds of women merit the name of *pativrata*: the wife who dies before her husband (*bhartuh pūrvam mr̥tā*) and patiently waits for him to join her; the wife who follows her husband onto the funeral pyre (*bhartrā sahānugatā*), exemplified by Mādrī; and the wife who after her husband's death lives an ascetic and celibate life for the rest of her days (*yāvajjīvam brahma-caryādinā yuktā*), exemplified by Kuntī. The first kind of wife is the auspicious ideal. But if the husband dies first, inauspiciousness and misfortune may be offset by either of the two options open to his widow. While the second alternative is deemed safer than the third — given the nature of women and the difficulties of leading a truly ascetic life — all three earn the ultimate reward of reaching the same heaven as their husbands (*patisālokyam*; Sdhp.48r.9–48v.6).

## V. Tryambaka's Conclusion: Obedient Service to one's Husband is the Primary Religious Duty (of a wife)

(*patiśuśrūṣāṇam mukhyo dharmah*;  
Sdhp.48v. 7–88r. 1).

Tryambaka returns to the point at which he began. 'Obedient service to one's husband (*bhartr̥suśrūṣāṇam*, Sdhp.1v.2; *patiśuśrūṣāṇam*, Sdhp.48v.7) is the primary religious duty enjoined by sacred tradition for women' (see section I, introductory verse 1, p.29, note 2). In this section, he defines 'obedient service to one's husband' in three ways. First, a wife should serve her husband 'without regard for her own life' (*prāṇānām avigaṇanayā*). Secondly, she should accept whatever her husband does 'even the sale of herself' (*ātmavikraya*). Thirdly, she should obey his will 'even when it conflicts with other religious duties' (*itaradharma-pamardena*).<sup>1</sup> Most of the rest of the treatise is taken up with some short and some extremely long examples of these three aspects of *patiśuśrūṣāṇam*. I shall deal briefly with the most important ones.

As suggested in my introduction, this unwieldy section was probably intended for the ears of the young daughters-in-law of the household (cf. pp.9–10). This would explain the long quotations from well-known stories and the marked lack of any real argument. It was presumably hoped that such lengthy retellings of favourite and traditional tales would inspire impressionable young women to conform to the highest ideals of *strīdharma*.

*Without regard for her own life* (*prāṇānām avigaṇanayā*;  
Sdhp.48v.8–55r.8)

When Sītā sees Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa being carried off by a powerful demon, she begs the demon to release them and take her instead

1. *patiśuśrūṣāṇam tu prāṇānām avigaṇanayā kartavyatvāt[ ] bhartr̥kṛty-ātmavikrayasyāṅgikartavyatvāt[ ] itaradharma-pamardena ca kartavyatvāt[ ] patiśuśrūṣāṇam mukhyo dharmah* // Sdhp.48v.7–8 with insert.

(Sdhp.48v.8–49r. 1; Sdhp.48v.9–10 < Rām.III.4.3b).

In the story of the brahmin whose life is forfeit to the crane-demon, Baka, the brahmin's wife begs to be allowed to go in his place (Sdhp.49r.1–3). As she explains, 'this is the supreme and everlasting duty of women in this world: (the wife) should pursue what is good for her husband even (at the cost of) abandoning her life.'<sup>2</sup>

The story of the female pigeon caught by a cruel and wicked bird-catcher is told at surprising length (Sdhp.49r.3–55r.8; Sdhp.49r.5–55r.8 < Mbh.XII.141.1–145.18, with few omissions, some variants).

It includes several *ślokas* on the virtues of the *pativrata*. For example, for a man who has fallen on bad times (*krcchragatasya*), there is no friend (*mitram*), no medicine (*bhesajam*), no relation (*bandhuḥ*) and no goal (or refuge; *gatiḥ*) like a wife (Sdhp.51r.3–4 < Mbh.XII.142.9b–10a, variant).

After a fierce storm in the forest, the bird-catcher puts the female pigeon in a cage, and then by chance takes refuge at the foot of the tree in which the pigeons live (*śaranam yāmi yāny asmin daivatāni*; Sdhp.50v.2–3 < Mbh.XII.141.26b). Despite her predicament, the female pigeon entreats her husband to pursue the householder's religious duty of offering hospitality to the guest (i.e. the bird-catcher who has come to their tree). The pigeon is inspired by his wife's words. He brings fire and fuel to keep the man warm and then, since he has no store of food to offer, he enters the fire himself in order to provide the guest with a meal. Impressed, the bird-catcher resolves to abandon his wicked ways, become an ascetic, and embark upon the great journey unto death (*mahāprasthāna*; i.e. a *maranāntikaprāyaścitta*, cf. section IV, pp.295–7). The pigeon's wife is released from her cage. At once, she declares the futility of remaining alive without her husband and throws herself into the same fire. A heavenly vehicle (*vimāna*) takes both her and her husband to heaven. Eventually, the bird-catcher follows their example: he deliberately enters a forest fire, dies, and ascends to heaven.

In the *Mahābhārata*, the story is told to Yudhiṣṭhira by Bhīṣma to

2. etad dhi paramam nāryāḥ kāryam loke sanātanam / prāṇān api parityajya  
yad bhartr̥hitam ācaret // Sdhp.49r.2–3 < Mbh.I.146.4.

demonstrate the householder's supreme duty to offer hospitality to anyone who asks for it (cf. section II C, pp.183–210; and, incidentally, to describe the heavenly rewards awaiting the devoted wife who dies on her husband's funeral pyre (cf. section IV, pp.293–5). Tryambaka uses it to illustrate the first subpoint of his conclusion: that the good wife should serve her husband without concern for her own safety.

*Accepting (even) her husband's sale of her (bhartṛkṛtātmavikrayāngīkārah; Sdhp.55r.8, sodhapatra<sup>3</sup> < Mārk.P.VIII. 51b–53, 55b, 57, 59–60, 63–6; with variants)*

The inserted passage is an extract from the story of Hariścandra as told in the *Mārkandeyapurāṇa*. When King Hariścandra inadvertently crosses a brahmin ascetic, the ascetic demands not only his kingdom and property but, over and above that, a sacrificial fee. In order to pay the latter, Hariścandra auctions his wife as a slave in the public market. An old brahmīn buys her and drags her off by the hair (*keśev athādāya nrpapatnīm akarṣata*). Instead of complaining, the queen begs the old man to buy her young son as well so that she can continue to take care of him.

In the context of the *Mārkandeyapurāṇa*, this story demonstrates that a man should put his religious duty to brahmins even above his affection for his wife and child. An extremely popular Buddhist

3. In MS T<sub>1</sub>, the story of the pigeons and the bird-catcher ends with an omission mark and the word *sodhapatra* in the margin (... *iti* // *adhyāyah* // // Sdhp.55r.8). The text itself continues with the example of the third aspect of *patisūrūṣanām* (*itaradharmopamardenāpi* ... // Sdhp.55r.8). The *sodhapatra* cited is now missing but it is clear from MS T<sub>2</sub> that it was inserted between folios 55 and 56. For the scribe of T<sub>2</sub> copies T<sub>1</sub> as it stands (... *iti* // *adhyāyah* // *sodhapatra* // // *itaradharmopamardenāpi* ... //). On reaching the end of T<sub>1</sub> folio 55v, he copies the *sodhapatra* without a break: *pādyam ācamaniyam vai dadau bhartus tadāsanam* // *bhartṛkṛtātmavikrayāngīkāro* ... // T<sub>1</sub> 55v.10/T<sub>2</sub> 42v.11). At the end of the Hariścandra story (... *sahākastham abandhayat* // *iti* //), he drops back into the pigeon story in the middle of a line: *syu[h] sarvadevatāḥ* ... // (cf. T<sub>1</sub> 54r.2). He then tells both the rest of that story and the entire Hariścandra episode (T<sub>2</sub> 44r.7–44v.5) again. The Mysore MS (M) makes no such mistake: after the pigeon story, it tells the story of Hariścandra, thus incorporating the *sodhapatra* of T<sub>1</sub> as intended. Following MS M and PT, I have assumed the same.

version of this idea may be found in the story of Prince Vessantara who gives away all he has, including his wife, Maddī, and their two children. We are told that Maddī accepted her treatment without resentment or question, saying that her lord and master could give her away, sell or even kill her if he chose (cf. Cone and Gombrich 1977:75, § 570). Tryambaka's point is much the same: even in such extreme circumstances, the ideal wife thinks only of her duty to her husband and son.

*Even if it conflicts with other duties* (*itaradharma-pa-mardenāpi*; Sdhp.55r.8–66v.3)

Tryambaka's main example tells the story of the ascetic Kauśika and the brahmin women (Sdhp.55r.11–58r.2 < Mbh.III.197.1–44; with variants, and some additional *ślokas* to be found in the footnotes of the critical edition).

While Kauśika is sitting at the foot of a tree reciting the Vedas, a female crane (or, more probably, egret; *balākā*) in the branches above inadvertently excretes on him. Kauśika is so angry that his thoughts alone cause the bird to drop dead. Filled with remorse, Kauśika then goes to a brahmin household to beg for food. The woman of the house welcomes him and is about to give him alms when her husband appears. She at once abandons Kauśika (*brāhmaṇam vyapahāya tam*) and attends to her husband, washing his feet, bringing him a seat, offering him food and drink, and so on. By the time she remembers to bring Kauśika his food, the ascetic is furious.

First, she placates him, explaining that her husband is her greatest god (*bhartā me daivataṁ mahat*). When Kauśika persists in his rage that she should worship her husband before the brahmin guest, she informs him briskly that she is no mere crane (*nāhaṇī balākā*; part of a *śloka* given only as a variant in the Mbh. crit. edn.), unaware of the importance of brahmins. But she has chosen the religious path of devoted service to her husband (*patisūrūṣayā dharmah*). As a result, she regards her husband as 'the supreme god among all gods', whose law she must fulfil without question.<sup>4</sup> It is through the merit she has gained thereby (*śūrūṣayāḥ phalaṁ paśya*) that she knows all about the incident with the crane. She proceeds to reprove the

4. *daivateṣy api sarveṣu bhartā me daivataṁ param / aviśeṣena tasyāham kuryāmī dharmam dvijottama.* // Sdhp.57r.2–3 < Mbh.III.197.29.

ascetic for failing to control his anger as a true brahmin should. Concluding that he does not really understand what religious duty means (*na . . . dharmaṁ vetsī me maṭih*), she sends him to a hunter (*vyādha*) in Mithila for further instruction. Suitably chastened, Kauśika obeys.

The story demonstrates Tryambaka's point that, if two duties conflict, service to one's husband comes first.

In order to stress that no other religious obligation may supersede the wife's primary duty towards her husband, Tryambaka also gives a number of separate quotations taken from a variety of sources (epic, *purāṇa* and *dharmaśāstra*; Sdhp.58r.2–60r.3). Most of these reiterate or support points raised elsewhere.

For example, 'there is no separate religious duty, vow or fast' (*prthagdharmo na vrataṁ nāpy upoṣanam*) for a woman other than her devotion to her husband (Sdhp.55r.8–9, 58v.2–3, 58v.5–6; for a discussion of this issue, see sections I (pp.29–43) and IIB (pp.107–15). The husband is her god and her *guru* (*bhartā devo gurur bhartā*), religious duty, place of pilgrimage and vow all in one (*dharmaśāstra-vratāni ca*); hence she should abandon all else and cleave only to him (Sdhp.55r.9–10). Just as *sūdras* should serve the higher *varṇas*, so women should serve their own husbands; and they should never engage in *japa* recitation, austerities, oblations, religious donations, vows nor sacrificial ritual as long as their husbands live (Sdhp.58r.3–5; see section IV, note 8). The auspicious epithets 'she who is devoted to religious duty' (*dharmaparamā*) and 'she who participates in her (husband's) religious duty' (*dharmabhāgīnī*) are applied to the ideal wife who 'regards her husband as a god' (*devavat . . . pra-pasyati*; Sdhp.59r.4–5); and so on.

Tryambaka concludes that, through devoted service to her husband, the good wife attains the merit of every religious act that he performs (*tenaiva bhartrkṛtasarvadharmaḥalāvaptih*; Sdhp.59v.2ff.).

Tryambaka in fact goes even further: if her husband requires it, a woman should do even what is normally considered wrong (*tadā-jñayā akāryam api kartavyam*). This point is also made earlier in a passage attributed to Vijnāneśvara (Sdhp.60r.1). Tryambaka's evidence is drawn from two well-known stories in the *Mahābhārata*. First, he quotes at length from the conversation between Pāṇḍu and

Kuntī on the subject of *niyoga* (Sdhp.60r.4–61v.6 < Mbh.I.111.30b–6; 112.3–5, 6b–c, 11–12a, 13–17, 19–28, 30–1; with variants).

While hunting in the forest, Pāṇḍu shoots a deer that turns out to be an ascetic. Since he has been killed in the act of mating, the ascetic curses Pāṇḍu that he too will die in the sexual act. Now unable to father children himself, Pāṇḍu asks Kuntī to find someone to act for him by the ancient custom of *niyoga* (see section IV, pp.300–2).

Tryambaka presents Pāṇḍu's arguments in favour of the practice but omits Kuntī's against it. In order to persuade her to his point of view, Pāṇḍu tells her of several virtuous women who have produced sons in this way: Śāradāñdāyinī (Sdhp.60r.8–60v.2), Madayantī (Sdhp. 61r.6–7) and his own mother (Sdhp.61r.8). He also describes how Śvetaketu made it a sin on a par with foetus-murder (*bhrūṇahatyākṛtam pāpam*) for a woman either to sleep with any man other than her husband or to refuse to conceive a child when appointed to do so by her husband (*patyā niyuktā*; Sdhp.61r.2–5). The important point, however, is not that *niyoga* may be within the law (in fact, in section IV, Trymbaka rules that it is not), but that the husband desires it. Twice Tryambaka repeats Pāṇḍu's crucial statement that 'those who know the law know that whatever a husband tells his wife (to do), whether it is lawful or even unlawful, she should do it.'<sup>5</sup>

Tryambaka's second illustration demonstrates that when a wife obeys her husband—even if that means doing something that is normally considered wrong (*akāryakaraṇe 'pi*)—not only is no sin at all incurred (*na kevalam doṣabhāvah*) but, on the contrary, the highest heaven is attained (*kim tūttamalokaprāptiś ca*; Sdhp.61v.6–7, with insert). The story of Sudarśana is told here in full (Sdhp. 61v.7–66v.1 < Mbh. XIII.2.1–95; with few omissions, some variants).

In the context of the *Mahābhārata*, as Tryambaka explains, the story is told by Bhīṣma when Yudhiṣṭhira asks him if any householder has ever conquered Death merely by practising his religious

5. *bhartā bhāryām rājaputri dharmyam vādharmyam eva vā / yad brūyat  
tat tathā kāryam iti dharmavido viduh* // Sdhp.60r.4–5; 61v.1–2 < Mbh.I.113.27.

duty (*dharmaṁ āśritya*). The lengthy preamble to the story explains how the beautiful Princess Sudarśanā, born into a noble and royal family, marries Agni and gives birth to Sudarśana. When Sudarśana marries Oghavatī, he takes a vow that he will conquer Death simply by being a householder (*grhaṣṭhaś cāvajeṣyāmi mṛtyum*; Sdhp.63v.7 < Mbh.XIII.2.40). He tells his wife that there is no more important religious duty for the householder than offering hospitality to guests (Sdhp.63v.10–64r.1; cf. section IIC, pp.183–210). Therefore, whether or not he is there himself, she should never refuse a guest anything (*atitheḥ pratikūlam te na kartavyam kathamcana*), even if it means offering herself (*apy ātmanah pradānena*; Sdhp.63v.8–10 < Mbh.XIII.2.41–2).

One day, while Sudarśana is out collecting firewood, a brahmin comes to Oghavatī and asks for hospitality. She greets him in the usual way, then asks what he wants. Despite her attempts to dissuade him, the brahmin wants only herself (*tvayā mamārthah . . . // pradānēnātmano . . . kartum arhasi me priyam*; Sdhp.64r.8–10 < Mbh.XIII.2.52–3). Remembering her husband's instructions, Oghavatī agrees. Meanwhile Sudarśana returns from the forest (and calls out to his wife; omitted). Since she is still in the brahmin's arms (lit. 'touched' by them; *karābhyaṁ tena viprena sprṣṭā*), she does not reply: considering herself polluted (literally 'left-over'), she is ashamed (*ucchiṣṭā[s]mūti manvānā lajjitā*; Sdhp.64v.4–5 < Mbh.XIII.2.60; for a discussion of *ucchiṣṭa* in the context of 'left-over' food, see section IIC, pp.221–7). The brahmin calls out to Sudarśana to explain. While Death waits poised with his iron club, Sudarśana throws aside anger and jealousy, bids the brahmin welcome, and calls the gods to witness the truth of his vow to offer everything he has to the guest (. . . *tena satyena . . .*; Sdhp.64v.7–65r.9 < Mbh.XIII.2.63–74; cf. Brown 1978). The air resounds with divine confirmations; Death is conquered; and the brahmin turns out to be god Dharma in disguise. Even Oghavatī's chastity is restored by Dharma's assurance that she has been perfectly protected by the combination of Sudarśana's virtues and the virtues of a woman who has truly taken the vow of her husband (*rakṣitā tvadgunair esā pativrataगुमais tathā*; Sdhp.65v.4–6 < Mbh.XIII.2.80–1). Her reward, as we should have guessed from her name, is that half of her will become immortalized as a sacred river (traditionally the supreme reward for virtuous women), while the other half will attain with her husband all the heavenly worlds normally

acquired by austerities (Sdhp.65v.6–10 < Mbh.XIII.2.82–5).

In the context of the *Mahābhārata*, the story demonstrates the importance for the householder of honouring the guest (cf. section IIC, pp.183–210). For Tryambaka, it illustrates the lengths to which the good wife should go in her determination to carry out not her own desire but her husband's command (*tadājñayā tu kartavyam akāryam api necchayā*; Sdhp.66v.1–2).

The emphasis on wisely obedience, so graphically illustrated in the last two stories quoted, evidently suggested a potential problem to Tryambaka (Sdhp. 66v.3–67[1]v.10). As he himself explains, he had earlier (*pūrvam*) declared that the foremost religious duty for women was 'service to one's husband' (*patiśuśrūṣāna*; see note1). In the story of Sudarśana, however, 'the most powerful thing is said to be obedience to the (husband's) command' (*ājñākaranasya prābalyam pratipādyate*; Sdhp.66v.4). Is there a contradiction (*virodha*) here?

Tryambaka explains at some length that there is not. For 'service' comprises 'every action that gives pleasure to one's husband' (*tatprītyutpādanavyāpārah sarvo 'pi śuśrūṣaiva*). Since obedience also gives him pleasure (*ājñākaranam api prītyutpādanatvāt*), it is included in the general term 'service' (*śuśrūṣāntargatam eva*; Sdhp. 66v.9–10). Tryambaka argues that the writers of *dharmaśāstra* (*sāstrakāra*) use the word *śuśrūṣā* in this sense to cover all actions that give pleasure to someone to whom one owes respect (*sarvam api gurujanaprītiikaram karma*; Sdhp.67[1]r.1–2). With reference to the son's relationship with his mother (cf. Āp.1.10.28.9), the sacrificer is referred to as his mother's son in order to give her pleasure; and that is why Haradatta calls it *śuśrūṣā* (Sdhp.67[1]r.9–67[1]v.1, with insert; cf. Har. on Āp.1.10.28.9–10). Similarly, the 'service' owed by the student to his teacher includes both obeying his commands and administering to his physical needs. Traditionally, however, only three things are specified as the religious duty of the student: service to the teacher, begging for alms, and lighting the sacred fire (*ācāryaśuśrūṣā bhikṣācaranam agnīndhanam*; Sdhp.67[1]v.4–6). Since 'obedience' (*ājñākaraṇa*) is included in 'service', it is not mentioned separately. Why then does Tryambaka discuss it separately? He does so merely to draw attention to a part of the whole, in accordance with the traditional ruling for pleonastic expressions (*gobalīvardhananyāyena*; Sdhp.67[1]v.9–10; cf. Medh. on Manu VIII.28). Tryambaka's analogy between the student's behaviour

towards his teacher and that of the wife towards her husband reinforces earlier comments to this effect (see sections I, pp.34–9; II C, pp.168–3, 221–7, etc.).

To prove his point, Tryambaka relates the story of Svāhā and Arundhatī (Sdhp.67[2]r. 9–69r.4; Sdhp.67(2)v. 1–69r. 2 < Mbh.III. 213.40–214.4a, 5–14; with variants). It is often said that a woman who completely (*akhilam*) fulfils her religious duty towards her husband 'will be glorified in heaven as an Arundhatī among women' (*arundhatīva nārīnām svargaloke mahiyate*, Sdhp. 67[2]r.9–10; e.g. section IV, p.43, note 43). Tryambaka explains that this is because Arundhatī 'served' her husband with great fervour (*patisūrūsanātiśayena*).

The story, as told by Tryambaka, runs as follows. During a sacrifice, Agni saw the wives of the seven sages and was overwhelmed by lust (*kāmavaśam yayau*). Realizing this, Agni's wife Svāhā resolved to take the form of each of the seven wives in turn in order to make love with Agni herself. With six of the wives she was successful, but she was unable to assume the 'divine form' of Arundhatī 'because of the splendour of her austerities and (the supernatural power arising from) her devoted service to her husband' (*tasyās tapahprabhāvena bhartrūṣanena ca*; Sdhp.69r.1–2 < Mbh.III.214.14). Van Buitenen's translation of *śuśrūṣana* as 'faithfulness' is clearly inadequate here. For the 'fervent service' envisaged by Tryambaka assumes his own broad definition of *śuśrūṣana*; that is, it includes 'every action that brings pleasure to one's husband.'

Reminding us that women have no means of atonement (literally, 'austerity'; *tapas*) other than devotedly serving their husbands (cf. section IV, pp.295–7), Tryambaka relates in full the story of Sāvitrī, the most renowned and best-loved *pativrata* of all (Sdhp.69r.5–86v. 4; Sdhp.69r.6–86v.3 < Mbh.III.277.1–283.16, with variants, and additional *ślokas* to be found in the footnotes of the critical edition).

In the context of the *Mahābhārata*, Mārkandeya tells the story to Yudhiṣṭhīra when the latter asks him if there has ever been a wife as devoted as Draupadī. At the end of the story, Mārkandeya reassures Yudhiṣṭhīra that Draupadī, like Sāvitrī, will save her husband. The story itself is so well known that the briefest summary is sufficient here.

Sāvitrī is born to King Aśvapati of the Madra people, by the grace of the goddess Sāvitrī, after he has offered oblations with the

*sāvitrī* formula regularly for eighteen years. When she grows up, since no man asks to marry her, Aśvapati sends her on a pilgrimage to find a husband. She chooses Satyavat, who lives with his mother and blind father in exile in the forest. Although Sāvitrī learns that he is doomed to die within a year, she marries him anyway and joins the exiled family. As the day of his death approaches, Sāvitrī undertakes the severe *tapas* of standing day and night for three days. On the fourth day, she accompanies her husband into the forest. When Satyavat collapses and Yama comes to take his soul away, Sāvitrī follows, answering Yama with such meek wisdom that he gives her three wishes (always excluding Satyavat's life). She asks first, that her father-in-law will regain his sight; secondly, that he will regain his kingdom; and thirdly, that her own father will have a hundred sons. Given a fourth wish, she asks that she and Satyavat will also have a hundred sons. The fifth wish is given without qualification: Satyavat is freed.

It is interesting to note that the story of Sāvitrī seems to condone several things that Tryambaka has explicitly and repeatedly condemned in his treatise. For example, Sāvitrī is evidently not married before puberty since she is adult enough to embark on a pilgrimage alone (cf. the discussion of *nagnikā*, section IIA, pp.86–8). According to Tryambaka, the pilgrimage itself is prohibited (see sections IIB, pp.132–41, and IV, p.275, note 7). So, one assumes, is the stubbornness with which she refuses to accept her father's initial decision that she should not marry Satyavat (see section IV, p.276, note 9). She undertakes a three-day 'vow' (*vrata*) that involves severe austerities (*tapas*) when both vows and austerities are forbidden to her (cf. section IV, pp.275–6, notes 7–8). Instead of submitting to her father-in-law (cf. section IIC, pp.156–7), she ignores his advice to stop her vow. She even answers back to Death, refusing (albeit humbly) to give in to his decree. Yet, by virtue of her devotion to her husband, Sāvitrī is praised throughout India even today as the perfect *pativrata*. Tryambaka would presumably argue that this merely demonstrates that devotion to one's husband supersedes all other obligations (see above).

### *Tryambaka's summary (Sdhp.86v.4–88r.1)*

'The husband is thus to be propitiated (*samtosanīyah*, comprising a variety of meanings: giving pleasure, making happy, pacifying,

appeasing, worshipping, etc.) (by the wife as follows): by observing the rules of purification; by attending to the fire ritual; by paying homage to guests; by taking care of household duties; by keeping close watch over the household (accounts), both income and expenditure; by attending to her husband's bodily comfort; by serving food to her husband's dependants, etc.; by eating the sanctified remains (*prasāda*) of (the food offered to) him herself; by love-making and so on at night; by avoiding both those things which are forbidden to her and those which her husband does not like; by putting into practice both those things which are prescribed and those which her husband likes; by adorning herself (*pratikarmaṇā*; or perhaps "keeping everything tidy"); by driving away her husband's fatigue; by putting the religious rulings relating to the body into practice whenever they are appropriate, according to the law; by following her husband (into the fire when he dies); (or, alternatively,) after her husband's death), by observing (the appropriate) restrictions such as celibacy (*brahmacaryādi*) for as long as she lives; by obedient (or devoted) service to her husband; and by doing what he says. Propitiating him in this way is said to constitute true 'service' to one's husband.<sup>6</sup>

Two points may be noted here. First, despite the rulings that prohibit *sahagamana* in the *kali* age (see section IV, pp.295-7), Tryambaka has felt it appropriate to include the practice here. Similarly, despite his own evident approval of *sahagamana* (see section IV, pp.293-5), he has found it necessary to offer the alternative of widowhood as well (see section IV, p.304).

Secondly, Tryambaka continues—even in so brief a final summary—to give greater weight to the husband's opinions and demands than to any independent formulation of the law by *dharmaśastra*. For example, the wife is required to avoid both 'those things

6. evam ūaucācārair agniśuśrūṣayātithipūjanena gr̥hakṛtyavicānenāyavyaya-kūṭumbasamrakṣaṇavicāreṇa bhartuḥ ūarīśuśrūṣayā bhartur āśritādināṁ cānnapradānena svayam taitprasādagrahaṇena rātrau ratyādinā svaniṣid-dhānāṁ bhartur apriyasya ca varjanena vihitānāṁ bhartur yat priyam tasya cānuṣṭhānena pratikarmanā bhartu[h] ūramāpanodanena tattatkāle prāptānāṁ ūarīradharmānāṁ yathāvidhy anuṣṭhānena bhartranugamanena bhartur ahan-taram yāvajjivabrahmacaryādiniyamapariपālanena patiśuśrūṣayā tadvacana-karanena ca patiḥ samtoṣanīyah // evam samtoṣanam eva patiśuśrūṣanam ity ucyate // Sdhp.86v.4-87r.2.

that are forbidden to her' and 'those which her husband does not like'. Similarly, she should do both 'those things that are prescribed' and 'those which her husband likes'. It is clear from the tone used and the examples given throughout section V that, in each case, the latter requirement is the stronger. Thus she should follow the detailed rules of *dharmaśāstra* unless and until her husband commands her otherwise. As soon as there is any conflict, however, she should simply do as he requires. It is fitting, therefore, that Tryambaka ends his summary with what are for him the two most important rulings for the ideal wife: she should offer her husband 'obedient and devoted service' (with a marked stress on 'obedience', according to Tryambaka's own definition; see above, pp.310–12; and she should do what he says. For this is indeed true 'service'.

This summary is followed by a number of well-known *ślokas* in hyperbolic praise of the wife who manages to behave as she should. For example, such a woman obtains fame in this world and the same heaven as her husband in the next (*patiloka*), and 'there is no higher goal than that' (*cānuttamām gatim*; Sdhp.87r.6). She 'ascends to heaven via the staircase of service to her husband' (*sā bhartr̄-śūrūṣāsopānasvargatim gatā*; Sdhp.87v.3). 'Seated in an aerial chariot' (*vimānasthā*; cf. above, p.306), she is praised by the gods (Sdhp.87v.4). Wherever her foot touches the ground, the earth is purified (Sdhp.87v.4–5). Though afraid of her (*bibhyat*), the sun, moon, wind and waters deliberately touch her in order to purify themselves (Sdhp.87v.5–6). For her touch is as cleansing and auspicious as a dip in the sacred Ganges (*gaṅgāvagāha*; Sdhp.87v.7–8). 'As a result of the merit obtained by the devoted wife, three sets of three (ancestors) enjoy the pleasures of heaven: three in her father's line, three in her mother's, and three in her husband's too.'<sup>7</sup>

### *Concluding verses and colophon (Sdhp.88r.1–8)*

In this way, having (first) shuffled (lit. 'churned'; *viロdy[a]*) the various pronouncements from the *smṛtis* and the *purāṇas* together, and (from them) collected the religious duties relating to women — some of them supplied here and there with reasoned pros and cons

7. *skānde* // Sdhp.87v.4. *pitr̄vam̄śyā māt̄rvam̄śyāḥ pativam̄śyāś trayas trayāḥ 'putivratāyāḥ punyena svargasaukhyāni bhuñjate* // Sdhp.87v.9 -88r.1 (Skānda) < Sk.P.III.2.7.58.

(*vyavasthā*) — the wise Tryambakayajvan has, at his mother's command (*mātrājñayā*), recounted them once again in their proper order in this work. By listening to them, may all women (learn to) apply their minds always to (their) religious duty!'<sup>8</sup>

'These religious rulings relating to women, which I have heard one by one in *śruti*[, *smṛti*] and *purāṇa*, I have gathered together from here and there to create (this work) in order to make things easier for the doe-eyed ones (*mrgadrśām*; i.e. women). This work of mine is strung together like a necklace out of brilliant pearls accepted (only) after they have been examined from all sides. May it create supreme delight for the mother of the worlds (Pārvatī)!'<sup>9</sup>

(Colophon:) 'This *Guide to the Religious Duties of Women* (*strī-dharmapaddhatih*) was composed by Tryambakayajvan out of affection for his teacher Yajñeśa, and in order to please Nṛsiṁha. May it be (taken as) an offering to Lord Kṛṣṇa!'<sup>10</sup>

Several points may be noted here. Tryambaka's allusion to 'his mother's command' in the first concluding verse recalls a parallel reference in his introductory verses (see section I, introductory verse 3, p.32, note 6). Similarly, his dedication to the goddess Pārvatī in the second concluding verse recalls the more detailed references to her in those same opening verses (see section I, introductory verses 1 and 2, pp.29–32, notes 2 and 4). Thirdly, as indicated in my introduction, Yajñeśa is also the *guru* of the author of the *Dharmākūta*; a fact that suggests that Tryambaka and the pandit-minister Tryambakarāyamakhin are indeed the same individual (see pp.10–13). Finally, the reference to Nṛsiṁha may be an allusion to Tryambaka's elder brother who was renowned as a minister and patron of scholars in his own right (see pp.16–19).

8. *ittham tryambakayajvanā smṛtipurāṇoktīr vilodyākhilā[h] / dharmā[h]*  
*strīvisayāḥ punah katipaye tattadyavasthānvitāḥ // samṛghyātra kṛtau kra-*  
*mena kathitā mātrājñayā dhīmatā / tān ākārnya sadā striyaś ca sakalā dharme*  
*matām tanvatām // 1 // Sdhp.88r.1–4.*

9. *dharmaḥ strīvisayā[h] śruti[smṛti] purāneśu śrutā ye pṛthak / tān sam-*  
*grhya tatas tato mrgadrśām saukaryahetoh kṛtā // seyam maikṛtir ujjivalair*  
*manigānair viśvak parikṣyāhṛtaḥ / māleva grathitā tanotu jagatām mātuh*  
*pramodam param // 2 // Sdhp.88r.4–7.*

10. *guruyañesakṛpayā śrīma[i]tryambakayajvanā / priyaye śrīnṛsiṁhasya*  
*kṛtā strīdharmapaddhatih // 3 // cha // cha // śrikṛṣṇārpanam astu // cha //*  
*Sdhp.88r.7–8. Cf. p. 12, note 4.*

## Conclusion

### I

One might reasonably expect that a text, or indeed a book, on the religious role of women would give considerable space to a discussion of the various aspects of the ascetic or monastic life: what sects were considered acceptable for women; the reason for opting for a life of renunciation; when and how a woman might do this; ceremonies of initiation; the signs and symbols of a woman's new status; the expectations, duties and privileges that go with it; and so on. This is perhaps the most glaring omission in Tryambaka's treatise, and therefore also in this book. For Tryambaka does not allow women the option of renunciation at all.

This is not to say that the option did not exist. We have only to look at the epics for frequent references to female ascetics. The work of anthropologists and historians provides ample evidence both of current trends in female asceticism and of their antecedents. Research topics include: women ascetics in traditional and modern Hinduism (Ojha 1981, 1984; King 1984); women saints of history and legend (Alston 1980; Hardy 1980; Abbott 1929; Ramanujan 1979: 129ff., 1982); female ascetics today in Benares (Denton) and Nepal (Caplan 1973); Jaina nuns and laywomen in Rajasthan (Reynell 1985); and a variety of studies on Buddhist laywomen and nuns (Horner 1975; Paul 1979; Flak 1980; Nissan 1984; etc.). Even the *Yatidharmaprakāśa*, a treatise on renunciation from within the discipline of *dharmaśāstra*, allows (albeit without enthusiasm) that women are entitled to become renouncers (Yatidh. 61.39–41; Mit.on Yājñ.III.58; Olivelle 1977:33–4, 175).

As Olivelle points out, in order to disentangle this complex question of the renunciation of women, it is essential to distinguish between three separate issues: the legitimacy of the practice in terms of *dharmaśāstra*; its legality in the eyes of the law; and its historicity (1984:113–15). Obviously, the *Strīdharmapaddhati* does not do this. Tryambaka's concern is solely with the legitimacy of the practice in the eyes of *dharma*. For both arguments and evidence are drawn from *dharmaśāstra* rather than from life. It is thus not so

much his rejection of female renunciation that is of interest to us today as the reasoning behind it.

For any mention—however rare and perfunctory—of women renouncers, or female renunciation in general, is redolent with negative associations, together with the insistence that the good Hindu wife should have nothing to do with them or it. For example, Tryambaka informs us that the orthodox wife should never associate with ‘female renouncers’ (*pravrajitā*) or ‘female religious mendicants’ (*śramanā*), bracketing them with other ‘bad influences’ such as courtesans, women gamblers, women who meet lovers in secret, intellectual women (*haitukī*), and so on (see section IIC, pp.171–2). In the section on things to be avoided (IV, pp.274–6), renunciation (*pravrajyā*) is one of the six things that cause women and *sūdras* to fall into hell. In a quotation from the *Mahābhārata*, Śāṇḍili stresses that she earned her place in heaven by being a good wife and not by wearing the ochre robes of the renunciate, the bark garments of the hermit, the matted locks of the ascetic, or by shaving her head as some renouncers do (section IV, pp.282–3, note 26). In the story of Aṣṭāvakra and the old female ascetic to whom the young man is sent for instruction, the emphasis rests not on her asceticism nor on her spiritual achievements, but on the fact that—even in old age, even after years of renunciation—she has not managed to subdue the rampant sexuality of her innate female nature (see section III, pp.268, 271).

The last example provides the clue to Tryambaka’s attitude. First, his references to female renunciation make it clear that he was fully aware of the possibility of women following such a path. Indeed, there were almost certainly more women renouncers in his day than there are today; and no doubt they earned as much genuine respect from the majority of Hindus then as their counterparts do today (cf. Denton: ch.4). For Tryambaka, however, the point is not whether women could become renouncers, but whether—according to *dharmaśāstra*—they should. The answer is clearly that they should not. In part, this is due to the same set of values applied routinely by *dharmaśāstra* to men; that is, the conviction that, of all the *āśramas* open to the male, that of the householder is best (see p.44–5). In part, however, the reasoning is peculiar to the case of women. For it rests heavily on Tryambaka’s understanding of female nature (*strīsvabhāva*).

As I explained in section III, Tryambaka assumes the orthodox

view of *svadharma*: good conduct produces auspicious births, evil conduct inferior births; and good conduct is defined as that appropriate to one's birth and station in this life. Birth as a woman is itself a mark of bad conduct in a previous life; the assiduous performance of the conduct appropriate to women (*strīdharma*) the only way to erase it. Since women are denied access to Vedic education, they cannot purify themselves with mantras or offer sacrifice in their own right (see sections I, pp.34–9, and II B, pp.107–15). According to the rigid orthodoxy professed by such as Tryambaka, they cannot perform any religious act independently of their husbands; they cannot even worship any god other than their husbands. Their only hope for salvation, and thus their only worthwhile goal, is the pursuit of *strīdharma*. The two poles of a woman's existence are thus represented by two radically opposed concepts: the essentially wicked nature of women as evidenced by their female birth (*strīsvabhāva*); and the role model of the virtuous and self-effacing wife as the only sure path to salvation (*strīdharma*).

This radical distinction between '(essential) woman' and '(ideal) wife' is reflected in the traditional twofold classification of female deities: the 'terrifying' or 'fierce' (*ugrā*) goddesses such as Durgā, Kālī or Cāmuṇḍā; and the 'gentle' or 'pleasing' (*sāntā, saumyā*) ones such as Pārvatī, Satī, Laxmī or Rādhā. It is no surprise that the former group are usually depicted as wild, destructive females associated with rampant appetite and sexuality, and the blood of battlefield, sacrifice and menstruation (cf. Kinsley 1982:146ff.; Bennett 1983:262–72; Carstairs 1973:158–9). In contrast, the latter group consists of ideal goddess-wives whose powers of chastity, fertility and prosperity — derived from their husbands and thus subordinate to them — are in turn the fundamental source of *sakti* of their husbands' powers within the scheme of *dharma* (cf. Dimmitt 1982:210–23; Bennett 1983:272ff.). As one would expect, Pārvatī — whom Tryambaka invokes at the beginning and end of this treatise — is one of these.

In the human realm as in the divine, the untamed female nature — with all the negative associations of female sexuality — is antisocial, elemental and dangerous. For Tryambaka, as for *dharmaśāstra* in general, that necessary 'taming' can only be achieved in the controlled state of marriage. As the story of Aṣṭāvakra demonstrates, the alternative path of ascetic renunciation can never fully subdue the essential sexuality of women. For in the imagination of the

orthodox male, 'renunciation' means primarily the renunciation of sexual pleasures and family life, both of which are symbolised by women. Thus while male renouncers may successfully renounce women, female renouncers can never fully renounce themselves. In the inevitable conflict between the sexuality inherent in their nature and the demands of the ascetic life, women renouncers remain essentially 'female', and therefore 'untamed'. The conclusion is obvious: only the pursuit of *strīdhर्मा* can keep this dangerous female nature under control and thus bring the individual to a better birth—perhaps even as a twice-born man (though crossing gender is hard; see section III, pp.246–7)—and, ultimately, to salvation.

## II

What then are the main points of this single religious path considered by Tryambaka to be safe for women to pursue?

First, women are forbidden to perform all manner of religious rituals and observances. Thus the six things that cause women to fall into hell include the recitation of sacred texts (*japa*), the performance of austerities (*tapas*), going on pilgrimages, renunciation, the chanting of mantras, and the worship of deities (including temple worship, another striking omission in Tryambaka's treatise). Other rulings add to this list: offerings into the fire (*homa*), religious donations (*dāna*), and any religious 'vow' (*vrata*) or ritual (*makha*; section IV, pp.274–6, notes 7, 8).

Such rulings derive partly from the exclusion of women from Vedic education and the right to independent ritual in general (see sections I, pp.34–9, and IIB, pp.107–8); and partly from the conviction that the most important duty of the orthodox wife is to assist her husband in his religious obligations rather than to pursue any religious commitment of her own (see pp.50, 108–15). Hence the repeated descriptions of the good wife as 'one who shares in her husband's religious duties' (*sahadharmaकārī*, *dharmaकārī*, *dharmabhāgī*, *pativrata*, *pativratabhāgī*, and so on; e.g. section IV, pp.281–2). Thus she should meditate with her husband on his chosen deity (see section IIA, pp.52–4). She should assist her husband at the fire ritual (see section IIB, pp.107–15, 129–41), at the worship of their household images (see section IIC, pp.178–80), and at the *vaiśvadeva* ritual (see section IIC, pp.180–3). She should prepare the food and serve the guest on her husband's behalf

in the important ceremonies of hospitality (see section IIC, pp.198–205); and so on. Such a view of the religious role of the orthodox wife replaces all independent actions with a variety of obligations arising from her position as ritual assistant to her husband.

Secondly, it is repeatedly stressed that the duties of the wife—whether those of every day (sections IIA–IID) or those occasioned by specific moments in her life (section IV, pp.283–304) are in fact the signs of her religious path, that of devotion to her husband. This devotion is described in two ways: serving and obeying one's husband as one's *guru*; and worshipping him as one's only god. No other description could carry a greater weight of religious commitment and spiritual authority in the Hindu context than these.

The parallel between the orthodox Hindu wife's ministrations to her husband and the Vedic student's attentions to his *guru* is not stressed by Tryambaka. But it emerges piecemeal from his treatise. In section I, for example, Tryambaka explains that the rulings he is about to expound apply only to married women because, for women, 'marriage has taken the place of initiation' (section I, p.35, note 15). He then quotes Manu's famous saying that the marriage ceremony is the female equivalent of initiation, serving one's husband in the home equal to living with and serving one's *guru*, and household duties equivalent to worshipping the sacred fire (section I, p.35 note 16; cf. pp.50,102, etc.). It is not surprising, therefore, that many of the rulings regarding the wife's services towards her husband (such as attending to his morning toilet, rubbing his body with oil, helping him with his bath, and so on) are strongly reminiscent of the required behaviour of the student towards his teacher (see section IIC, pp.163–8). Touching the husband's feet before a meal (see section IIC, pp.221–2), and before going to bed (see section IID, p.237) recall the respectful salutations the student should offer his *guru* (see section IIC, pp.157–60). Similarly, Tryambaka's insistence that the orthodox wife should eat the remains of her husband's meal evokes another marked parallel with the reverence shown by the student to his teacher (see section IIC, pp.221–7). Finally, in Tryambaka's own conclusion to the treatise, he discusses the full meaning and significance of the term 'service' (*śuśrūṣā*) by analogy with the 'service' owed by the student to his teacher: that is, it includes both obeying his commands and administering to his physical

needs, thereby comprising 'every action that gives pleasure, to one's husband-guru (see above, p.312).

In practice, of course, the orthodox wife does not behave like the Vedic student unless her husband is away. For example, the student should not enjoy the pleasures of cleaning his teeth either during his studentship or afterwards whenever he is in the presence of his teacher (see section IIA, pp.80–1). In the case of the wife, however, the prohibition on teeth-cleaning applies only when her husband-guru is absent (see section IV, p.291). Similarly, the rules on dress for the married woman bear no comparison with those applicable to Vedic studentship (see section IIA, pp.88–96). In fact, in discussions relating to *āśrama*, women are classed with Vedic students simply because studentship is the least advanced of the four stages of the *samuccaya* system (see section IIA, pp.82–3). Nonetheless, the uplifting analogy, complete with its associations of religious commitment, remains.

The requirement that the orthodox wife should treat her husband as her only god receives somewhat greater stress. For example, the invocation to Pārvatī in the opening verses carries with it the powerful image of the wife whose husband really is a god, and whose self-effacing devotions bring her the ultimate reward of becoming half of him (see section I, introductory verse 1). Within the treatise itself, numerous quotations either liken the husband to a god or describe him directly as the wife's only or highest god. Thus, whether he is good or bad, he is the good wife's 'supreme deity' (section IV, p.274, note 2). 'There is no deity like him . . . through his grace all desires are fulfilled' (section IV, p.281, note 21). 'The good woman always regards her husband as a god' (section IV, p.282, note 24). Throughout her married life, her entire appearance, from the *tilaka* on her forehead to the rings on her toes, signal to the world that her husband is her god and that he is alive (see section IIA, p.96–101). When she eats the remains of the meal she has served him, she should receive it reverently as the sanctified *mahāprasāda* of her god (see section IIC, p.221–7). Instead of seeking the blessings of other gods by making pilgrimages or worshipping in temples, she should drink the 'foot water' of her own husband (see section IIB, p.132–41). After his death, she may worship Viṣṇu but only if she keeps the image of her husband in her mind, worshipping him in the guise of the god, bringing him to mind by means of a portrait or a clay model

(see section IV, p.300, notes 67, 68). For the husband is the 'supreme god among all gods', whose law she must fulfil without question (see section V, p.308, note 4).

Thirdly, this replacement of all independent religious activity on the part of the wife with devoted service to her husband-*guru*-god has an important, and perhaps unexpected, consequence. The ideal wife should obey her husband's command even if what he asks her to do is normally considered unlawful (see section V, pp.309–12). For *strīdharma* supersedes even right and wrong.

Tryambaka's examples in fact reveal a conflict within the notion of *strīdharma* itself. Having devoted his entire treatise to explaining in detail precisely how the orthodox wife should behave according to the contemporary understanding of *dharmaśāstra* rulings, Tryambaka proceeds to undermine his own creation. All these rulings apply if, and only if, they accord with the individual husband's wishes.

Thus Tryambaka argues against the practice of *niyoga* in section IV (pp.300–2), yet insists that Kuntī should accede to her husband's request that she perform this act simply because he makes it (see section V, pp.309–10). Similarly, the ideal wife should have no contact with men other than her own husband (see section IIC, pp.170–6), let alone make love to them; yet Oghavatī is praised for making love to a brahmin guest when her husband commands her to do so. Indeed, the god Dharma himself declares Oghavati's chastity restored and her reputation intact due to the power of 'a woman who has truly taken the vow of her husband' (see section V, pp. 310–12).

But this is not as incongruous as it seems. For the classic answer when someone is asked why he is doing something apparently unorthodox is always: 'My god or my *guru* told me to.' Thus Mīrābāī flouts the conventions of an orthodox family, caste and society on the grounds of devotion to her lord Kṛṣṇa (cf. Alston 1980). Mahādevī breaks every rule of *strīdharma*, including the prohibition on nakedness, in her single-minded search for her god (Ramanujan 1979:129). Similarly today, the Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, frequently reproached by orthodox Hindus for teaching the Vedas to non-Hindus abroad, explains that his *guru* instructed him to do so. The story of Uttaṅka (alluded to by Tryambaka in section IIC, pp. 210–14), provides an epic example. The conflict of duties described is resolved by Uttaṅka's decision that his teacher's orders did not

include 'wrong-doing'. The implication is clear: if they had, it would have been right to obey. Through the power of *guruvacana*, the unorthodox becomes orthodox. Since the ideal Hindu wife is required to treat her husband as both *guru* and god, it is hardly surprising that she too may invoke *guruvacana*, or the wishes of her 'god', to justify breaking or bending the traditional rules of *strīdharma*. For her too, the apparently unorthodox, even forbidden, action becomes both orthodox and right.

### III

One last important question needs to be tackled. What bearing does this rather bizarre treatise have on the lives and experiences of actual women in India, whether in the ancient past, the eighteenth century, or today? The question becomes more manageable if we break it down into a number of sub-questions and -answers.

First, what is the relationship between text and social reality in more general terms; that is, between the doctrinal (what they say) and the historical (what was actually the case)? The transmission of religious knowledge in India is essentially an oral tradition. What has been recorded—whether basic text, commentary or digest—is thus already the result of highly selective and to some extent arbitrary process. Yet these recordings are the very texts on which we base our discussions of Indian religion and culture, and the place of women within them. The task is clearly fraught with danger.

In more specific terms, how authoritative or representative are the different kinds of texts on which Tryambaka has drawn? How, for example, do we judge the historicity of the past conjured up by the Vedic hymns? I have attempted to face this question in my commentary whenever Tryambaka has cited Vedic material; for example, when he alludes to the famous Vedic marriage hymn as evidence for the innate purity of women (section III, pp.252-4).

The texts of *dharmaśāstra*, on the other hand, are overtly prescriptive, their pronouncements couched in the characteristic optative mood. From them we learn the duties of men and women according to the orthodox understanding of transcendental law, as represented by that particular compiler or commentator. But how do texts like these relate to social fact?

The work of modern anthropologists is particularly enlightening

in this respect. A.S. Jameson, for example, in her study of the pilgrimage priests (*pāndā, gaṅgāguru*) of Hardwar, refers repeatedly to the gap between what her subjects claim they do (i.e. in accordance with orthodox ideals and precepts) and how they in fact behave. Thus they claim to serve only the twice-born; but many in fact have *sūdra*, tribal or even untouchable *jajmāns*. They claim not to recite Vedic mantras for *sūdras* (as Manu specifically prohibits them from doing); yet they are recorded as doing so. They claim not to take donations for ashes; but, as Jameson points out, they could not survive economically if they did not (1976:59,328–52). This gap between textual theory and actual practice is frequently highlighted by anthropological research (e.g. Gombrich 1971). It seems probable that, in both ancient India and eighteenth-century Thanjavur, the strict outlines prescribed by religious ideals were similarly blurred in and by real life.

The relationship between epic literature and social reality is perhaps even more difficult to ascertain. The great Indian epics provide Tryambaka with a profusion of didactic material interlaced with myth and imagination. Are we justified in trying to disentangle sociological evidence from it as well?

Postel-Coster discusses the similar principle of using novels as anthropological material, taking the Indonesian case as her example. She sees the modern novel as a continuation of the myth in traditional societies, but admits that neither novel nor myth draws a picture of social reality in a documentary sense. Literary truth is of a different order: reflections of general ideologies, of the value systems of a particular social class (Postel-Coster 1977:135–50). We should therefore not allow the juxtaposition of mutually exclusive points of view to confuse us unduly. What we have is not so much a conflict of values (although in one sense, of course, we have that too) as a series of different levels of perception: at one end of the scale, statements of the ideal; at the other, all the nuances, variations and shortcomings created when the ideal is carried into daily life. On top of all this, we find the ambivalence inherent in ideals, the positive switching suddenly into its opposite, like a coin flipping over to show the other side.

It is perhaps also worth pointing out that, in India, myth is not so far removed from reality as some outsiders might think. For Indians live their myths. Festivals, ceremonies and dramas are taken straight out of the epics and *purāṇas* and replayed year by year

in villages all over India. In every household, mothers and grandmothers tell and retell these stories to their children until they are embedded in their subconscious minds, emerging to shape their responses to the crises of everyday. Thus when the writer to *Manushi* exclaims that we must refuse to be Sitas' (Kishwar and Vanita 1984: 299; see my introduction, p.2), she and those for whom she speaks are resisting not only aspects of Indian culture but, in a very real sense, parts of themselves.

The second sub-question is a more specific restatement of the first. What is the relationship between prescriptive literature written or compiled by a brahmin male élite and the actual experience of women?

Even today, there are orthodox brahmin specialists who—convinced of the rightness of tradition—converse in Sanskrit, pore over the old texts, and take only negative account of other castes and traditions. This distinction between the classical recorded tradition and the largely unrecorded oral traditions is important. An exclusive concern with the former does not rule out the possibility of alternative frameworks for those other segments of society (local gods, tree worship, shamanistic practices, and so on); it merely ignores the problem.

But this religious élite responsible for the texts at our disposal was defined not only by caste and tradition, but also to a very large extent by gender.

In the field of social anthropology, Edwin Ardener's theory of 'muted groups' is now well known (1975; the theory is perhaps best set out in Shirley Ardener's introduction, 1975:vii—xxii). To summarize it briefly, the dominant modes of expression in any society have been generated by the dominant structure. Only the dominant mode is 'heard'. Any subdominant group either learns to express its views in terms of the dominant mode or remains inarticulate, 'muted'. When the polarity is that of gender, the female group is usually the muted one. But, until very recently, most anthropological investigation failed to take this crucial dichotomy into account. At the level of observation in fieldwork (e.g. in terms of marriages, economic activities, rites and so on), the behaviour of women has been exhaustively plotted. But at the second level of the discussion of observed behaviour, there is a real imbalance. Statements about both men and women are made exclusively by men.

This is precisely the position we find in the study of Indian religious texts. Almost the entire religious and ideological edifice constructed in the Sanskrit texts of Hindu orthodoxy has been written or recorded by men. The religious arena is dominated by men; the rules of religious language itself encoded and expounded by them. The religious role allotted to women is defined in terms of their relationship not to God but to men. For women are given what it is considered fitting for them to do; and, as Hirschon points out, there is a close correlation between what it is thought fitting for someone to do and what he or she is considered capable of doing (1978:73).

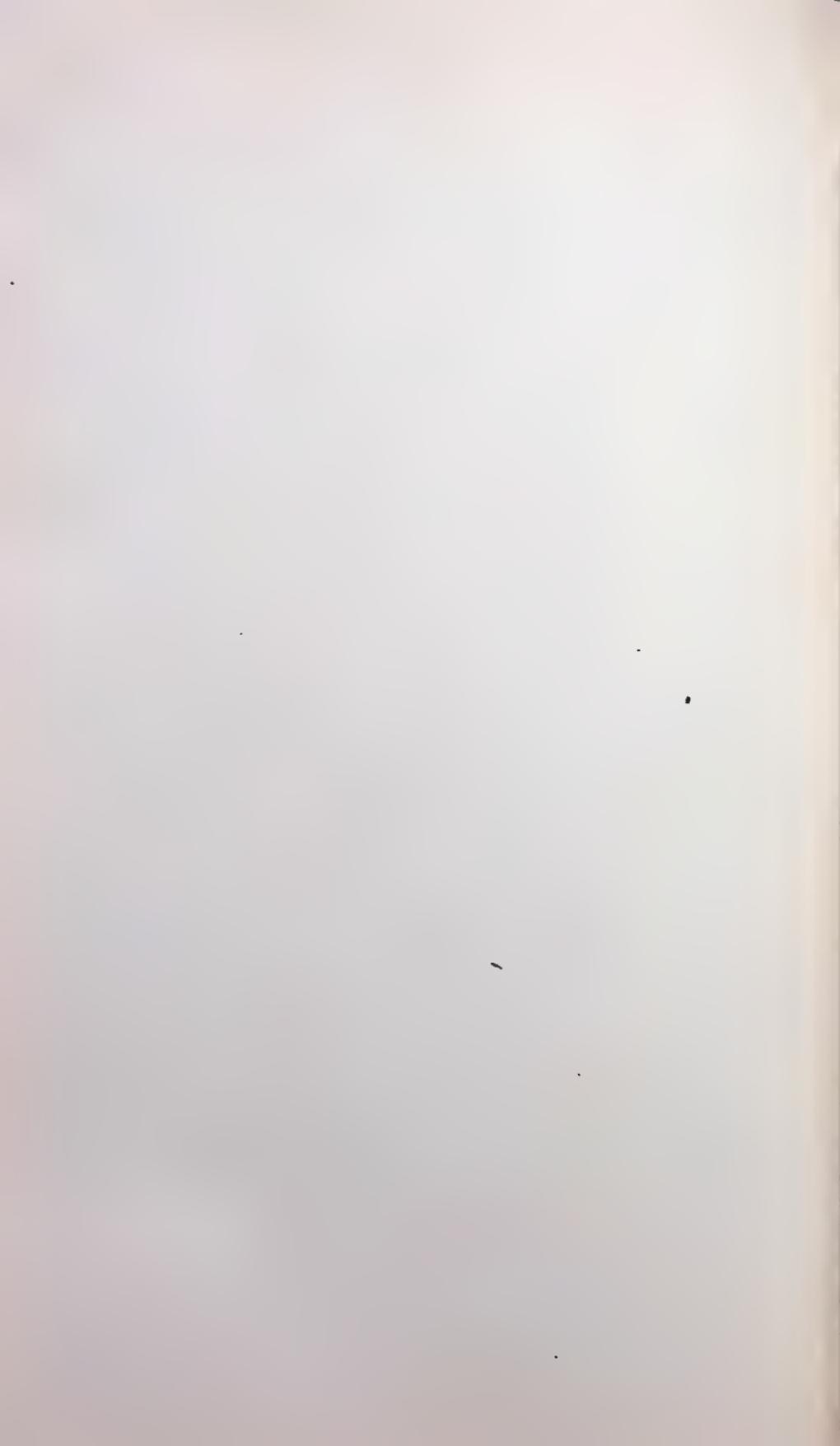
This is not to assume that women would necessarily have described or prescribed a radically different world view. Indeed, it is highly likely, then as now, that the dominant view was partly or fully internalized by the majority of women. Moreover, we should not be disappointed if this proves to be the case for, as Shirley Ardener points out, it is the small deviations from the norm which may be crucial (1975:xix; cf. Hiebert 1985:98). The traditional male perception of a woman's role must therefore be seen in relation both to what is found in real life and to what can be gathered from listening to women's views. Thus the Wisers describe how the women often laugh 'behind their scarves' at the air of authority assumed by a man; yet 'outwardly they approve, and demand submission from his wife' (1971:79–81). In the Manipur valley, women make 'a formal expression of deference to male authority'; yet 'female defiance of male dominance is a profound feature of their culture' (Chaki-Sirkar 1984: 222). Similarly, Bhuribai claims to be inferior to her husband, on a par with the shoes on his feet; yet she also sees herself as the model of feminine virtue in her own village, virtue incarnate, supporting not only her own husband, family and caste, but the whole of creation as well (Jacobson 1978:134–5).

The chief criterion of a world view, religious or otherwise, is that it is a self-defining system. In a society defined by men, therefore, some features of the corresponding muted group (i.e. women) will not fit that definition. The difference (if any) might lie not in the description but in the evaluation, pointing to positive functions in what the dominant structure sees as negative or inferior. For, on psychological grounds alone, it is hardly likely that half the population of India actually regarded (or regard) themselves in the negative terms outlined by the other half. It is far more probable that they either resisted altogether the interpretations foisted on them (like some of

the contributors of *Manushi*; cf. Kishwar and Vanita 1984); or created their own positive construct (like Bhuribai; cf. Jacobson 1978). For Indian women rarely want to be men; nor, as a general rule, do they seek the 'freedoms' of Western women.

For a coherent understanding of the religious role of Indian women, therefore, we need several approaches at once. First and foremost, the religious texts relating to women must be closely analysed to reveal the implicit structures and unarticulated tensions. It is hoped that this presentation of Tryambakayajvan's *Stridharma-paddhati* is a useful contribution to this category of research. Secondly, historical and anthropological studies must provide the missing dimension of experiential reality to our growing knowledge of the texts. It is to the latter that we must look for the elusive 'woman's voice' describing and evaluating her own experience. We do not find it in a text such as this.

What we do find is the viewpoint of an eighteenth-century pandit trained in the study of Sanskrit texts, and steeped in both orthodox tradition and the customs and conventions of his own social group. It is clear that his is in some sense a reactionary voice for it calls on his intended audience of high-caste women at the Maratha court of Thanjavur to resist all the changes implied by a Tamil environment, Muslim overlords, and the encroachment of European influence (see my introduction, pp.3-4). It is equally clear that, while he is evidently familiar with the rulings of *dharmaśāstra* and the traditional tales of the epics and *purāṇas*, he is no real *mīmāṃsaka*, no true philosopher. Rather, he is a pillar of the orthodox establishment, sure of his own mind and the rightness of tradition. Commissioned to compile for the high-caste women of his day all the rulings relating to their religious path as orthodox wives, he has produced this bizarre but intriguing document. His views on women, elaborated at great length and in absorbing detail, are fascinating both in themselves and in their relevance to India today. They deserve to form part of the emerging picture of the religious role of Indian women.



## APPENDIX

# The Text; Collation of Manuscripts and *Stemma Codicum*

The following MSS were available for comparison:

### T<sub>1</sub>—*The Tanjore Maharaja Serfoji's Sarasvati Mahal Library, Thanjavur*

TD Vol. XVIII (1934), p. 8708–9, cat. no. 18966; Burnell (1880) p. 139a, no. 315; Oppert Vol. II (1885), p. 471, no. 8107; CC Vol. I (1891), p. 241; NCC Vol. VIII (1974), p. 284.

Paper MS; *devanāgarī* script; 94 folios numbered 1–88; 9 inches by 5 inches; 10 lines to a page; 28–32 *akṣaras* to a line; complete.

This MS is in good condition although folios 2 and 88 are torn at the edges. It is clearly written with bold strokes forming square upright characters. Two hand-drawn lines on each side of each page form margins; except in folios 1 and 2 where each margin consists of two pairs of lines, and in the inserted folios 26(1) and 26(2) which have no margins. The word *strī* is written in *devanāgarī* in the top left-hand margin of the verso of most folios; the word *dharma* in the top right-hand margin of the verso of some of the earlier folios; and the pious ejaculation *rāma* in the bottom right-hand margin of some folios (e.g. 2v, 3r, 4r). There are frequent corrections: the smaller ones, in the margin, of a syllable, word or phrase, are usually in the first hand (e.g. 2r, 3r, 4r, 30r); the longer ones written at the top or bottom of a folio and marked at the beginning and end with a number, are often in a more spidery second hand (e.g. 6v, 15v, 17r, 25v); while some other longer ones are probably in a third hand (e.g. 39r, 39v, 48v, 67r).

In addition, there are three lengthy insertions into the original text. Between folios 26 and 27, three extra folios are to be found: 26(1), 26(2), and 26(3); all three to be inserted at 26v.9. Folio 26(1)r is totally illegible, but has evidently been rewritten in the same hand on one side of a displaced and unnumbered folio. This replacement folio and 26(1)v are written in the spidery second hand: 26(1)r (replacement) has 13 lines to the page, 32–8 *akṣaras* to a line; 26(1)v has 9½ lines to the page, 30–40 *akṣaras* to a line. Folios 26(2) and 26(3) seem to be in the first hand but are neater and more evenly spaced: 9, 9, 8 and 6 lines to a page; 26–34 *akṣaras* to a line. The other two major insertions involve one folio each. Between folios 46 and 47, there is an extra folio 47(1) written in the second hand: 14 and 11 lines to the page; 25–38 *akṣaras* to a line; to be inserted at folio 46v.3, before the bracketed deletion. Finally, between folios 66 and 67 (the latter has the number 68 added in the second

hand), there is an extra folio 67(1) written in the same second hand: 10 ( : 11 insertion) and 9½ lines to the page; 28–32 *akṣaras* to a line; to be inserted at 66v.10, before the bracketed deletion. These extra folios account for the inconsistency of 94 folios numbering 1–88 as described. (For an additional folio insert outside the passages chosen for comparison, see section V, note 3).

*Incipit*, folio 1v.1–2: //śrīgaṇādhipataye namah // śrīsarasyat�ai namah// śrīgurubhyo namah// mukhyo dharmasmṛtiṣu vihito bhartr̄śisrūṣanam hi . . .

*Explicit*, folio 88r. 7–8: guruyajñeśakṛpayā śrīmātryambakayajvanā// prītaye śrīnṛṣimhasya kṛtā strīdharma-paddhatih//3// cha// cha// śrīkrṣṇārpaṇam<sup>1</sup> astu// cha (Next line, in another hand:) dh. 100

### T<sub>2</sub> — The Tanjore Maharaja Serfoji's Sarasvati Mahal Library, Thanjavur

TD Vol.XVIII, pp.8708–9, cat.no.18967; Burnell p.139a, no.316; NCC unpublished files.

Paper MS; *devanāgarī* script; 65 folios numbered consecutively; 15 inches by 7 inches; 12–13 lines to a page; 38–42 *akṣaras* to a line; complete.

This MS is in good condition and in one hand throughout. The script is small, even and compact; and there are few corrections, either in the margin (e.g. 19v) or otherwise (e.g. the bracketed deletions on folio 20r.8–10). The top left-hand corner of the verso of each folio contains either the word *strīdharma* (e.g. 5v, 6v, 8v), or the word *strī* (with or without *dharma* in the right-hand corner; e.g. 2v, 3v, 4v, 7v), or nothing (e.g. 13v, 26v, 27v); the verso of folio 1v has *strīdha* in the top left-hand corner, *rma* in the top right-hand one. There are no margins.

*Incipit*, folio 1v.1–2: śrīgaṇādhipataye namah śrīsarasyat�ai namah śrīguru-bhyo namah mukhyo dharmasmṛtiṣu vihito bhartr̄śisrūṣanam hi . . .

*Explicit*, folio 65v.7–8: guruyajñeśakṛpayā śrīmātryambakayajvanā prītaye śrīnṛṣimhasya kṛtā strīdharma-paddhatih//3// //cha// cha// śrīkrṣṇ(?)-arpaṇam<sup>2</sup> astu // (Another hand:) dh. 170

### T<sub>3</sub> — The Tanjore Maharaja Serfoji's Sarasvati Mahal Library, Thanjavur

TD Vol.XVIII, p.8708–9, cat.no.18968, MS no.16374; NCC files.

1. <sup>1</sup>krṣṇa<sup>o</sup>, i.e. *sn* for *m*; cf. *krṣṇasya*, T<sub>1</sub> 88.2; *prabhaviṣṇah*, T<sub>1</sub> 26(2)r.4.

2. Unclear, but probably as in T<sub>1</sub> (see note 1); cf. *krṣṇasya*, T<sub>2</sub> 22r.6; *prabhaviṣṇavah*, T<sub>2</sub> 20r.12.

Paper MS; *devanāgarī* script; 60 folios numbered consecutively; 15 inches by 7 inches; 12 lines to a page; 40–6 *akṣaras* to a line; complete.

This MS is in good condition and in one hand throughout, possibly the same as in T<sub>2</sub>. The script is small, even and compact, with few corrections (e.g. 2v, 18r, 18v). The word *strīdhरma* is written in *devanāgarī* in the top left-hand corner of the verso of each folio; the word *strī* in the top left-hand corner of 60r; and the ejaculation *rāma* in the bottom right-hand margin of (usually the verso of) some folios (e.g. 4v, 8v, 9v). There are no margins.

*Incipit*, folio 1v.1: *śrīgāṇādhipataye namah* || // *śrīsarasvatyai namah* || // *śrī-*  
*gurubhyo namah* || *mukhyo dharmasmṛtiṣu vihito bhartr̄siśrūṣanam hi . . .*

*Explicit*, folio 60r.11–12: *guruyajñeśakṛpayā śrīmatryambakayajvanā* || *pṛitaye*  
*śrīnr̄simhasya kṛtā strīdharmapaddhatih* //3// *dh* 170 (unclear) *śrīkr̄ṣṇ(?)ār-*  
*pañam<sup>3</sup> astu* // *cha* // (Another hand, unclear) *dh* 1490//

### M — The Mysore Government Oriental Library, Mysore

MSC Vol.III (1955), p.704, serial no.9474, MS no.A 163; listed in the NCC files incorrectly as *Strīdharmasaṅgraha*.

Paper MS; *devanāgarī* script; 38 folios numbered consecutively; 33 inches by 19½ inches; 33 lines to a page; 22–4 *akṣaras* to a line; complete.

This MS is in excellent condition and in one hand throughout. The script is extremely neat and small, with very few corrections (e.g. 1r.3, 1v.24). It is presented on vertical pages in book format, suggesting a more recent origin than those in Thanjavur, but the pages are numbered as folios (i.e. 1r, 1v.2r, 2v etc.). Each recto has a *devanāgarī* numeral written in the top centre, and the equivalent roman numeral stamped in the top right-hand corner. On some folios, *strīdhरma* is written beneath the *devanāgarī* numeral in the top centre (e.g. 13r, 17r etc.). There are no margins.

*Incipit*, folio 1r.1: (Top centre, in place of the *devanāgarī* numeral:) // *śrī* //  
*strīdhरma* // (line 1:) *śrīgāṇesāya namah* || *mukhyo dharmasmṛtiṣu vihito*  
*bhartr̄siśrūṣanam hi . . .*

*Explicit*, folio 38v.14–16: *guruyajñeśakṛpayā śrīmatryambakayajvanā* //  
*pṛitaye* *śrīnr̄simhasya kṛtā strīdharmapaddhatih* //3// *śrīkr̄ṣṇārpañam<sup>4</sup> astu* //  
*śrīrāmacandrāya namah* // *cha* // *cha* // *cha* // *cha* // *cha*

### TO — In my possession

This is a hand-written copy of T<sub>1</sub> made in 1981 at my request and used in the

3. Unclear, but probably as in T<sub>1</sub> (see note 1) cf. *kr̄ṣṇasya*, T<sub>3</sub> 20r.5; cf. the anomalous *sn̄* for *sn̄* in *prabhavisṇavah*, T<sub>3</sub> 18v.3 (cf. M 18v.3, note 4).

4. *sn̄* for *sn̄*; cf. *kr̄ṣṇasya*, M 12v.31; *prabhavisṇavah*, M 18v.3.

initial stages of my research. It was copied by Srimati P.S. Lalithā, Sanskrit copyist, and checked by Srimati S. Rājalakṣmī Sanskrit *panditā*, both of the Tanjore Maharaja Serfoji's Sarasvati Mahal Library, Thanjavur. (For a description of this copy, together with *incipit* and *explicit*, see Leslie 1983(2): appendix A.)

I was unable to locate the MS entitled *Strīdharmasaṅgraha* that is listed in the NCC files as part of a collection to be found in the Fort, Vizianagaram Estate, Andhra Pradesh. It is described as a paper MS, damaged, and in Telugu script. The NCC entry is based on a typed list available to the compilers.

A printed text (PT) entitled *Tryambakarāyamakhinibaddhā strīnām āvaśyikā dharmapaddhatih*, complete with Tamil translation, was also available. 275 pages; 8 inches by 4½ inches; 12–14 lines of Sanskrit and, below these, 12–18 lines of Tamil translation; modern typesetting with indentations for verse, quotation and paragraphs; opening invocation omitted, otherwise complete.

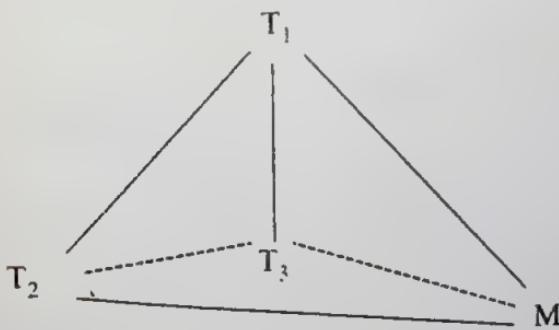
I found two copies: one in the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, Madras (accession no. 5881; undated but received between 1949 and 1956: part of the collection donated by M. Subramaniam Iyer of 'Amritavilas'; front and back covers missing); the other in the Vedadharmaṇipālanasabhā, Kumbakonam (no accession number or date; complete). Neither copy bore any information regarding editor, translator, publisher, printer, place or date. However, His Holiness Candraśekharendrasarasvatī informed me in December 1981 that it was edited and translated into Tamil in approximately 1917–20 by Pañcapageśaśāstrī of the Kañci Kāmakoṭī Maṭh, the younger brother of Ganapatiśāstrī, the well-known editor of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. Unfortunately, Pañcapageśaśāstrī's son, N. Ramani Sastri, has been unable to substantiate this. At all events, the edition is a useful one, well printed, and with comparatively few errors. It has formed the basis of my collation of the above MSS.

Before embarking on an analysis of the text, it was necessary to establish a *stemma codicum* setting out the relationship between the four extant MSS available to me: T<sub>1</sub>, T<sub>2</sub>, T<sub>3</sub> and M. Selecting the same three passages from each MS, I compared each in turn with PT; that is, the opening section (PT 1–10), the closing section (PT 271–5), and a central portion chosen because in T<sub>1</sub> (25v–27v) it involves two hands, a lengthy insertion into the text, and an unnumbered misplaced folio (PT 73.3–84.10). The precise details of the collation process, including examples of the errors and variants noted are to be found in appendix A of my doctoral thesis (see Leslie 1983(2):352–67). A much abbreviated version is presented here.

A comparison of the collations of PT with T<sub>1</sub> and T<sub>2</sub> respectively reveal that T<sub>2</sub> is an apograph of T<sub>1</sub>. Apart from a large number of shared errors and variants, several errors are both unique to T<sub>2</sub> and explicable only by reference to T<sub>1</sub>. Conclusive proof is provided by T<sub>2</sub> 20r.8, where the scribe — after copying an entire inserted folio — reverts to the place of the original insert (T<sub>1</sub> 26v.9) and copies the remaining two lines. Realizing his mistake, he then cancels those lines by bracketing them, copies the other two folios yet to be inserted, and then returns to those two lines once more.

A similar examination of the errors and variants of T<sub>1</sub> and T<sub>3</sub> reveal that the latter is also an apograph of the former. Again, apart from numerous shared errors and variants, several are both unique to T<sub>3</sub> and explicable only in terms of T<sub>1</sub>. In addition, few errors or variants shared by T<sub>2</sub> and T<sub>3</sub> are not also shared by one of the other MSS. Contamination is therefore slight.

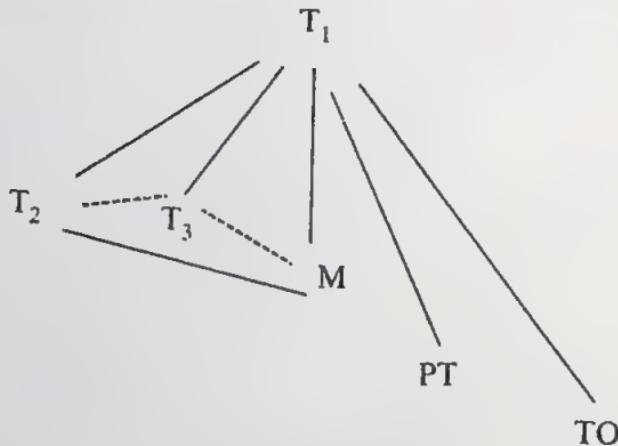
The relationship between T<sub>1</sub> and M is only marginally less obvious. Once again, there are numerous shared errors and variants, some of which are also shared by T<sub>2</sub> or T<sub>3</sub> or both. However, some are exclusive to M and can be seen to originate in T<sub>1</sub>. M is thus also an apograph of T<sub>1</sub>. In addition, several errors and variants are shared by T<sub>2</sub> and M but not by any of the other MSS. Somewhat fewer errors and variants are shared by T<sub>3</sub> and M but not by the other MSS. The *stemma* is therefore as follows:



TO and PT remain.

An examination of TO confirms that T<sub>1</sub> was the only extant manuscript consulted.

PT is evidently the work of an editor rather than the usual copyist for the majority of obvious errors present in T<sub>1</sub> have been corrected. Of the variants and remaining errors, none are shared with M alone, none with T<sub>3</sub> alone, none with T<sub>2</sub> alone, some with T<sub>1</sub> in common with other MSS, and a few with T<sub>1</sub> alone. There are, however, a large number of variants not shared by any of the extant MSS. Since these seem to be largely intentional rather than due to scribal error, there is no need to posit a lost exemplar between T<sub>1</sub> and PT. I have therefore assumed a simple *stemma* as follows:



Since this is a closed recension consisting entirely of apographa, I have dispensed with  $T_2$ ,  $T_3$ ,  $M$  and  $TO$  except in cases where  $T_1$  is illegible or unintelligible. I have therefore used  $T_1$  as my basic text, while noting the variant readings of  $PT$ .

Orthographic peculiarities (e.g. *md*, *mt* etc. for *nd*, *nt* etc.; *ch* for *cch*, *vahir* for *vahnir*) and unimportant slips (e.g. *śisrūṣanam*, *gomasya*, *viṣepi*) have been silently corrected. Conventional *sandhi* (e.g. *kīrtir*, *kartavya* etc. for *kīrttir*, *karttavya* etc.; *ah* + *s* for *as*; *as* + *c* for *ah* + *c*; *ih* + *sa* for *is* + *sa*; *ñ* + *c* for *m* + *c*), and punctuation (e.g. *yatnato 'piha* for *yatnatopīha*) have been restored. Angle brackets excise; square brackets supplete.

There remains only the question of whether  $T_1$  is itself a copy or the author's autograph. Since too many of the errors noted in  $T_1$  can only be explained as the results of misreading by a copyist (see Leslie 1983 (2); appendix A), we must posit at least one, if not more, previous exemplars.

To clarify this supposition, a close examination was made of the three major insertions in  $T_1$ . They are as follows:

- A:  $T_1$  26v.9 (three folios) >  $PT$  77.7–84.5;
- B:  $T_1$  46v.3 / 48r.1 (one folio) >  $PT$  143.4–147.4;
- C:  $T_1$  66v.10/67 (1)r.9 (one folio) >  $PT$  208.6–210.3.

The second and third folios of A are probably in the first hand (see above). The writing styles of B, C, and the first folio of A, although not identical, are sufficiently similar to suggest the same second hand, but perhaps on different occasions or with a different instrument.

We already know that  $T_1$  is a copy. Were the insertions also copied from an exemplar? Were they perhaps the result of a second (e.g. comparer's) reading, specifically intended to correct mistakes and reinstate lost passages? Or were they original interpolations added to  $T_1$ ?

There are several reasons to assume that the insertions too were copied, not composed. First, given the scribal traditions of India, it is highly unlikely that any scribe would presume to make such radical alterations to a religious, and therefore sacred, text. Secondly, insert A is begun by the second scribe and completed by the first; hardly likely if original work were involved. Thirdly, several errors in these interpolated passages are clearly the result of misreading rather than slips of writing.

Assuming then that both  $T_1$  and the insertions were copied, were they copied from the same exemplar? If they were, then the disruption of the numbering sequence suggests that these passages were somehow lost in the initial transcription and reinstated later. But an examination of the insertions themselves shows that this is unlikely. First, the passages are improbably long. Secondly, none of the 'omissions' are the result of *saut du même au même* as is the case in many smaller insertions (e.g.  $T_1$  25v.8).

I suggest therefore that we are dealing with one of two things. Either this transcription is the result of copying from an exemplar that kept its interpolated folios at the end where they would not have been seen until later. Or, as seems more likely, it is the result of copying from (a copy of?) the author's first draft and, on discovering (a copy of?) a second draft, of making the appropriate alterations later. If the latter is the case, then the alterations constitute original emendations to the text, not merely the scribe's usual correction of mistakes. Equally, if this is the case, then  $T_1$  should make sense without the emendations. A brief examination of the interpolated passages demonstrates that this is in fact so.

In the case of A, three entire folios are inserted into the middle of one line. Without the insert, the argument on *strīdhana* makes sense. The insertion merely develops the argument further, in some instances using material already quoted to make another point. None of the first version is deleted.

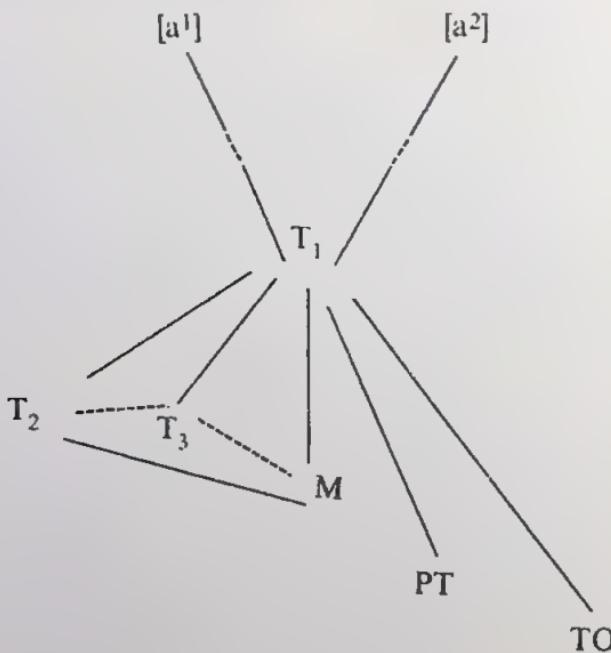
In the case of B, the insertion of one folio coincides with an extensive deletion in the first version. If we ignore the former and restore the latter, the argument still makes sense. In fact, much of the deleted passage is reinserted (i.e.  $T_1$  46v.5–10 > PT 146.6–147.4); of the rest, some phrases are dropped altogether, while some are reproduced but in a different order and considerably enlarged (i.e.  $T_1$  46v.3–47(1)v.7 > PT 143.3–146.6). This new portion is a complete rewriting of the old. It covers the same ground (prohibitions relating to the widow, specifically sexual intercourse with another man according to the practice of *niyoga*), but includes two new *pūrvapakṣa* objections and refutations ( $T_1$  47r.1ff., 47v.5ff.; PT 143.3ff., 146.5ff.).

In the case of C, the insertion again coincides with an extensive deletion in the first version. If we ignore the former and restore the latter, the argument concerning a wife's obedience to her husband (specifically when she is required to do something that in normal circumstances she would not be allowed to do) continues to make sense. The deletion (i.e.  $T_1$  66v–67/68)

begins with a small example of *saut du même au même*: from *ata eva sarvam api* (PT 208.6) to *ata eva sudarśanopākhyāne* (PT 209.3). Of the rest, some is dropped altogether, and some is reinserted but in a different form. An added complication is that a large portion of insert C is itself deleted (i.e. T<sub>1</sub> 67v.2–10) and very little of this is to be found in either the first (i.e. pre-insert) version or in the refurbished insert C.

(The same is true of the additional insert described in section V, p.307, note 3. Without it, the treatise moves coherently from the story of the pigeons and the bird-catcher to that of Kauśika and the brahmin woman. The insertion — now in fact missing from T<sub>1</sub> — provides the entire story of Hariścandra.)

I conclude that the *stemma codicum* is in fact something more like this:



# Abbreviations

<i>adhi.</i>	<i>adhikarāṇa</i>
Ād.P.	Ādipurāṇa
Ādit.P.	Ādityapurāṇa
Ag.P.	Agnipurāṇa
Ait.Ār.	Aitareyāraṇyaka
Ait.Br.	Aitareyabrahmaṇa
Amar.	Amarakoṣa
Ān.	Ānandāśrama edition
Āng.	Angirah( <i>smṛti</i> )
Āng.Nik.	Ānguttaranikāya
Āp.	Āpastamba( <i>dharmaśūtra</i> )
Āpar.	Āparārka's commentary on <i>Yājñavalkyasmṛti</i>
Āp.gr.	Āpastambagṛhyasūtra
Āp.Sm.	Āpastambasmṛti
Āp.Śr.	Āpastambaśrautasūtra
Arthas.	Arthasangraha
Āśv.	Āśvalāyana
Āśv.gr.	Āśvalāyanagrīhyasūtra
Āśv.śr.	Āśvalāyanāśrautasūtra
Ātri	Ātri( <i>smṛti</i> )
A.V.	Atharvavedasamhitā
Bāl.	Bālambhaṭī, commentary on <i>Yājñavalkyasmṛti</i>
Baudh.	Baudhāyana( <i>dharmaśūtra</i> )
Baudh.gr.	Baudhāyanagrīhyasūtra
Baudh.śr.	Baudhāyanāśrautasūtra
Bhāg.P.	Bhāgavatapurāṇa
Bibl.Ind.	Bibliotheca Indica edition
BORI	Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
Br.P.	Brahmapurāṇa
Br.Sam.	Br̥hatsamhitā
Br.Up.	Br̥hadāraṇyakopaniṣad
Car.	Carakasamhitā
CC	Catalogus Catalogorum (see Aufrecht)
ChSS	Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series edition
Dakṣa	Dakṣa( <i>smṛti</i> )
Dev.	Devanāṇabhaṭṭa, author of <i>Smṛticandrikā</i>
Dharmāk.	Dharmākūta
Dh.koṣa	Dharmakoṣa

Gaut.	<i>Gautama(dharmasūtra)</i>
Gītā	<i>Bhagavadgītā</i>
Gobh.	<i>Gobhila</i>
Gobh.gr.	<i>Gobhilagrhyasūtra</i>
Gobh.Sm.	<i>Gobhilasmṛti</i>
GOR	Gaekwad Oriental Series
Gov. on Baudh.	Govindasvāmin's commentary on <i>Baudhāyanadharmasūtra</i>
Gov. on Manu	Govindarāja's commentary on <i>Manusmṛti</i>
Har.	Commentary by Haradatta
Hariv.	<i>Harivamśa</i>
Hir.gr.	<i>Hiranyakeśigrhyasūtra</i>
Hir.śr.	<i>Hiranyakeśiśrautasūtra</i>
HOS	Harvard Oriental Series
Īś.Up.	<i>Īśopaniṣad</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
Jai.	<i>Jaiminiyasaṃhitā</i>
Jīv.	<i>Dharmaśāstraśaṅgraha</i> edited by Jīvānanda
Kād.	<i>Kādambarī</i>
Kām.	<i>Kāmasūtra</i>
Kāś.	<i>Kāśikāvṛtti</i>
Kāṭh.Sam.	<i>Kāṭhakasamṛhitā</i>
Kāṭh.Up.	<i>Kāṭhopaniṣad</i>
Kāty.	<i>Kātyāyana</i>
Kāty.Sm.	<i>Kātyāyanasmṛti</i>
Kāty.śr.	<i>Kātyāyanashaṇṭrasūtra</i>
Kauṣ.Br.	<i>Kauṣītakibrāhmaṇa</i>
Kauṭ.	Kauṭilya's <i>Arthaśāstra</i>
Kull.	Kullūka's commentary on <i>Manusmṛti</i>
Kum.Sl.	Kumārilabhaṭṭa's <i>Ślokavārtika</i>
Kum.Ta.	Kumārilabhaṭṭa's <i>Tantravārtika</i>
Kum.Ṭu.	Kumārilabhaṭṭa's <i>Tuplikā</i>
Kūrm.P.	<i>Kūrmapurāṇa</i>
KSS	Kashi Sanskrit Series edition
Laghuśat.	<i>Laghuśāṭātapa(smṛti)</i>
Ling.P.	<i>Lingapurāṇa</i>
LSJ	Personal communication from Tarkatīrtha Lakshmanshastrī Joshi
M	MS of <i>Strīdharmapaddhati</i> from Mysore (see appendix)
Mait.	<i>Maitrāyaṇīsamṛhitā</i>

Mān.gr.	<i>Mānavagrhyasūtra</i>
Mān.śr.	<i>Mānavārautasūtra</i>
Manu	<i>Manu(smṛti)</i>
Märk.	<i>Märkaṇḍeya</i>
Märk.P.	<i>Märkaṇḍeyapurāṇa</i>
Mask.	Maskarin's commentary on <i>Gautamadharmasūtra</i>
Matsy.P.	<i>Matsyapurāṇa</i>
Mbh.	<i>Mahābhārata</i>
Medh.	Medhātithi's commentary on <i>Manusmṛti</i>
Mit.	<i>Mitākṣarā</i>
MSC	<i>Mysore Supplemental Catalogue</i>
MS(S)	manuscript(s)
MW	Monier-William's <i>Sanskrit-English Dictionary</i>
Nand. on Manu	Nandana's commentary on <i>Manusmṛti</i>
Nand. on Viṣ.Sm.	Nandapāṇḍita's commentary on <i>Viṣṇusmṛti</i>
Nār.	Nārāyaṇa's commentary on <i>Āśvalāyanagrhyasūtra</i>
Nirṇ.	<i>Nirṇayasindhu</i>
NCC	<i>New Catalogus Catalogorum</i> (see Raghavan and Kunjunni Raja)
N.S.	<i>Nirṇayasāgara</i> edition
Pad.P.	<i>Padmapurāṇa</i>
Pāṇ.	Pāṇini's <i>Aṣṭādhyāyī</i>
Par.	Parāśara
Pār.gr.	<i>Pāraskaragrhyasūtra</i>
Par.M.	<i>Parāśaramādhavīya</i>
Par.Sm.	<i>Parāśarasmṛti</i>
Pat.	Patañjali's <i>Mahābhāṣya</i>
PT	Printed text of <i>Strīdharmapuddhati</i> (see appendix)
PTS	Pali Text Society edition
PVK	P. V. Kane's <i>History of Dharmasāstra</i>
Rāgh.	Rāghavānanda's commentary on <i>Manusmṛti</i>
Rām.	<i>Rāmāyaṇa</i>
Rāmac.	Rāmacandra's commentary on <i>Manusmṛti</i>
R.V.	<i>R̥gvedasanhītā</i>
Śab.	<i>Śabarabhāṣya</i>
Sahā.	<i>Sahānumarāṇaviveka</i>
Śaṅkh.	<i>Śaṅkha(smṛti)</i>
Śaṅkh.gr.	<i>Śaṅkhāyanagrhyasūtra</i>
Śaṅkh.śr.	<i>Śaṅkhāyanārautasūtra</i>
Sarv.	Sarvajñānārāyaṇa's commentary on <i>Manusmṛti</i>
Sāt.	<i>Sātātapa</i>
Sāt.Br.	<i>Sātapathabrahmaṇa</i>

Sāy.	Commentary by Sāyaṇa
SBE	<i>Sacred Books of the East</i> edition
SBH	<i>Sacred Books of the Hindus</i> edition
Sdhp.	<i>Strīdharmapaddhati</i>
Śiv.P.	<i>Śivapurāṇa</i>
Sk.P.	<i>Skandapurāṇa</i>
Sm.A.	<i>Smṛtyarthasāra</i>
Sm.C.	<i>Smṛticundrikā</i>
Sm.M.	<i>Smṛtimuktāphala</i>
Śr.koṣa	<i>Śrautakoṣa</i>
SS	<i>Smṛtiñām samuccayāḥ</i>
sū.	<i>sūtra</i>
Subh.	<i>Subhāśitaratnabhāṇḍāgāram</i>
Suś.	<i>Suśrutasūtra</i>
T <sub>1</sub> , T <sub>2</sub> , T <sub>3</sub>	MSS of <i>Strīdharmapaddhati</i> from Thanjavur (see appendix)
Tait.Ār.	<i>Taittirīyāraṇyaka</i>
Tait.Br.	<i>Taittirīyabrahmaṇa</i>
Tait.Sam.	<i>Taittirīyasamhitā</i>
Tait.Up.	<i>Taittirīyopaniṣad</i>
TD	Thanjavur <i>Descriptive Catalogue</i> (see Sastri)
TMSSM	Tanjore Maharaja Serfoji's Sarasvati Mahal edition
Trik.	<i>Trikaṇḍamāṇḍana</i>
Ujj.	<i>Ujjvalā</i>
Vaikh.	<i>Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra</i>
Vait.	<i>Vaitānasūtra</i>
Vām.P.	<i>Vāmanapurāṇa</i>
Var.P.	<i>Varāhapurāṇa</i>
Vas.	<i>Vasiṣṭha(dharmaśūtra)</i>
Vāy.P.	<i>Vāyupurāṇa</i>
Vim.	<i>Vimānavatthu</i>
Vir.Ā.	<i>Viramitrodaya āhnikaprakāśa</i>
Vir.P.	<i>Viramitrodaya pūjāprakāśa</i>
Vir.S.	<i>Viramitrodaya samiskāraprakāśa</i>
Viṣ.P.	<i>Viṣṇupurāṇa</i>
Viṣ.Sm.	<i>Viṣṇusmṛti</i>
VSM	Vaidika Saṃśodhana Mandala edition
Yājñ.	<i>Yājñavalkya(smṛti)</i>
Yatidh.	<i>Yatidharmaprakāśa</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>

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(\* Denotes the primary edition, cited in bibliographic notes unless otherwise indicated.)

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# TRYAMBAKAYAJVAN

## THE PERFECT WIFE (STRĪDHARMAPADDHATI)

TRANSLATED FROM THE SANSKRIT BY I. JULIA LESLIE

Tryambakayajvan is almost certainly the famous Tryambakarāyamakhin (AD 1665–1750), minister to two of the Maratha kings of Thanjavur (Śāhajī and Serfojī). Famous in his own right as a scholar of religious law, he is described in a contemporary text as a learned minister, the performer of Vedic sacrifices, and a patron of scholars. In the *Strīdharmapaddhati*, Tryambaka summarizes for his eighteenth-century audience a tradition that was then already over a thousand years old. The treatise advocates conformity and Tryambaka is interested in women not as individuals but as parts that fit into and strengthen the whole. That whole, for him, is dharma. The work is, in itself, an admission of the power of non-conformist women to wreck the entire edifice of Hindu society. For, when women are 'corrupted', all is lost.

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